

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

For a time Jung apparently had the confidence and fees of many employers in the clay products industry. After his union achieved recognition, Tracy became friendly with manufacturers in the industry and asked them about their relationships with Jung. Time and again they registered embarrassment in confessing that they paid him considerable fees.

The foregoing offers an idea of Jung's chief activities. However, these were by no means his only activities. Early in the 1920's he began to collect files on persons and organizations he considered "Red", the files that were to form the basis for the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation. Jung's literature asserts that the Federation was established in 1919. His files were quite possibly started that early, though the Federation as a corporate body was not organized until considerably later. At any rate when Norman Hapgood's *Professional Patriots* appeared in 1927, Jung received but brief notice. Hapgood said:

The association (the National Clay Products Industries Association), according to Commissioner Jung, is a sort of clearing house of patriotic information on radical movements. Besides receiving all the literature of various professional patriotic societies, the association also has its own source of information "for which," says Mr. Jung, "we pay good money."

And further on:

This gentleman (Jung) issued a statement in 1926 to the effect that Lenin was once in America and that while he was here he associated with such "anarchists, murderers, disloyalists, and dynamiters as Emma Goldman, Robert Minor, Eugene V. Debs, etc."

A sample of Jung's early anti-revolutionary work is the following letter, written May 5, 1926, on the stationery of the National Clay Products Industries Association:

Mr. John V. Farwell  
229 Lake Shore Dr.  
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Mr. Farwell:

If you haven't time to read the attached report, turn it over to your women folks, and if they are members of any clubs, let them get started spreading the gospel to their friends about the activities of Miss Jane Addams and others of her ilk, who are doing their level best, some wittingly, and others as mere pawns, to break down the morale of our citizens and eventually emasculate our national defense. . . .

Very truly yours,  
H. A. JUNG

## AMERICAN VIGILANT INTELLIGENCE FEDERATION

The letter was apparently directed against Miss Addams' activities in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and her other efforts. In December, 1927, this aspect of Jung's work had advanced far enough to justify incorporating the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation under the laws of Illinois. By 1930, Jung had achieved something of a reputation as an authority on "subversive" persons and organizations. In May of that year the *National Republic*, a magazine of distinctly red-baiting tendencies, spoke of him as "Harry A. Jung, of Chicago, one of the most active combatants against revolutionary radicalism in this country." A few months later, Jung appeared before the Fish Congressional committee investigating Communism and boasted that he was "considered an authority on the subject". In the autumn of 1930 he obtained widespread publicity from the publication of his blacklist of dangerous "radicals."

Sometime after November, 1931, Jung abandoned the National Clay Products Industries Association and began to devote his efforts completely to the Federation.

At present, Jung carries on his work under the aura of secrecy that might be expected of an ex-labor spy. His organization is not listed on the directory in the lobby of the building where his headquarters are located and the sign on his door is simply the mysterious A.V.I.F. His collection of data on "subversive" characters has become so voluminous that one whole side of his office is covered with neat steel files full of it. On the opposite wall are shelves and shelves of related as well as unrelated books.

### PROPAGANDA

The channels of propaganda used by the Federation are a weekly leaflet, a monthly leaflet, special memoranda, confidential reports, pamphlets and books, public meetings, and the activity of a field representative.

The four-page monthly leaflet, the *Vigilante*, first appeared in May, 1932. Its purpose seems to be to present "radical" trends in such a menacing light that its readers will be kept in a constant state of *delirium tremens*. The weekly leaflet is entitled, *Items of Interest on the Patriotic Front*. When it first appeared in late 1930 or early 1931, it consisted of only a few mimeographed sheets and contained much the same material to be found in the *Vigilante*. A typical issue of this period "exposed" a questionnaire on war and peace, American engineers working in Russia, tours sponsored by college professors, pacifist pastors, etc. Later it began to appear in printed form and its scope became more specialized. It confined itself to two matters—"Notes on

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

the Radicals", a section offering news about the latest activities of such organizations as the League for Industrial Democracy and the Young Communist League, and "Personals", a section of brief thumbnail biographies of liberal pastors, professors, labor leaders, and, now and then, a real revolutionary. If a subscriber were to keep a scrapbook of all these "personals", as suggested by Jung, he would gradually build up the equivalent of Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling's *Red Network*. A typical item charges Harold D. Lasswell, University of Chicago professor, with being an "internationalist who calls himself a Socialist, but acts and speaks like a Communist," alleges that he has been guilty of "a scurrilous attack upon Nationalism and the American Flag," and announces that he is associated with the American Civil Liberties Union, the executive committee of the Chicago Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, the Chicago Workers Theatre, and the Chicago Workers School.

The combined circulation of the monthly and weekly leaflets has never been very great; the paid circulation of both publications probably never exceeded five or six thousand. The subscribers have resided primarily in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Issuance of both sheets was discontinued in November, 1936.

Occasionally the Federation has sent out special mimeographed bulletins on organizations or individuals considered particularly dangerous. On January 15, 1932, there appeared a special bulletin "exposing" a pacifist group calling themselves Peace Patriots. Somewhat earlier appeared a memorandum on Dr. Karl Borders, which concluded: "Dr. Borders is an adept and faithful propagandist for Soviet Russia and the BOLSHEVIKI murder regime in power in that unhappy land and apparently serves his masters well."

The circulation of the Federation's confidential reports has been restricted exclusively to those businessmen who can afford to pay \$100 a year to obtain them.<sup>10</sup> The earliest definite record of the appearance of one of these confidential reports is June 4, 1930. The reports have appeared at frequent intervals, sometimes daily. Between June 4, 1930 and December 20, 1931, some 159 appeared. The material usually contains the reports of Jung's spies in Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Wisconsin. A typical report describes the activities of Communist groups in Milwaukee and surrounding environs. Another report is on the Chicago meeting of the Communist Party; the report covers six single-spaced typewritten pages. Another report contains a list of the factories to be represented by "revolutionary" employees at a Metal Workers' Industrial League Conference held in Youngstown, Ohio.

## AMERICAN VIGILANT INTELLIGENCE FEDERATION

Another medium through which the Federation spreads its ideas is that of books and pamphlets. A partial list follows:

*The Immigration Crew on the New Deal Railroad*  
*Pastors, Politicians, and Pacifists*  
*The Red Network*  
*Bartering our Birthright*  
*Fish Committee Communist Investigation Report*  
*Left Wing Peace Organizations*  
*Christianity, a Practical Business Philosophy*  
*Are We Aliens in Our Own Country?*  
*Have Americans Become a Nation of Spineless People?*  
*The Alien Menace to America*

The Federation keeps up to date in the literature it distributes. For instance, in early 1937 its literature reflected its fight against the Committee for Industrial Organization and President Roosevelt's plan for reorganizing the United States Supreme Court. Such pamphlets include:

Carter Glass' *Constitutional Immorality*, a reprint of his radio attack against the President's plan  
Josiah W. Bailey's *The Living Soul of Democracy*, a reprint of a radio address of the same nature as that of Carter Glass  
*Join the C. I. O. and Help Build a Soviet America*, an effort to connect the C. I. O. with Moscow  
*Americans, Avoid the Chains of Vicious Dictatorships*, a reprint from the *National Republic*

Other literature distributed by the Federation are:

*The Man Behind the Men Behind the President*  
*The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*  
*Halt! Gentile, and Salute the Jew*  
*Questions and Answers*

The publications in the third group are anti-semitic. *Halt! Gentile, and Salute the Jew* originally appeared in England. Jung brought out the first American edition of this pamphlet. *Questions and Answers*, an eight-page mimeographed sheet of nineteen questions and answers dealing with the Jews, is a brain-child of Jung; he distributed between 1,500 and 2,000 copies in 1934. Data on the number of pamphlets the Federation has distributed is too fragmentary to be of much value. Although 50,000 copies of *The Man Behind the Men Behind the President* were known to be distributed jointly by Jung and Colonel E. N. Sanctuary, the authors, this number is too large to be a typical figure for Jung's pamphlet distribution.

The printed word is by no means the only channel of propaganda used by the Federation. The group spreads its ideas through public

ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

meetings as well. This channel was used a good deal during the 1936 Presidential election campaign, when the Federation worked hard to demonstrate a link between Moscow and the New Deal. Most of the meetings of this period were held at the Real Estate Building in Chicago. Admission for non-members was upon the recommendation of a member-sponsor and the payment of twenty-five cents. Attendance was reported as having been at times as high as two and three hundred. The speakers at these gatherings included Dr. Hugh S. Magill, president of the American Federation of Investors; Dr. James Oliver Buswell, president of Wheaton College; Major John L. Griffith, "Big Ten" Athletic Commissioner; and Jung.

Jung has long been active in speaking before groups of all kinds. He is particularly well received before small town Chambers of Commerce and business clubs in Illinois and in Michigan. On February 18, 1934, he addressed Chicago's Highland Park post of the American Legion in a meeting held in a public school. Apparently this was not the only time Jung spread his ideas through the medium of the American Legion, for Edward N. Nockels wrote in 1935, referring to Jung, "We find he has sold his ideas to the American Legion who take him to be a super-patriot." In at least one instance Jung addressed an anti-New Deal organization during the 1936 election. On October 14, 1935, he spoke before the Constitutional Protective League in Lansing, Michigan.

FUNDS

The Federation's sources of income may be classed as follows: miscellaneous minor sources, the sale of confidential information, fees for labor espionage, and gifts from the wealthy. The minor sources consist of the sale of books and pamphlets, subscriptions to the *Vigilante* and to *Items of Interest*, admission fees to meetings, and the five dollars annual dues of the regular members. Dues paid by the members of the "Board of Underwriters", i.e., wealthy Federation members who supposedly undertake to support the organization by regular contributions every three months, would not ordinarily fall into the category of minor sources; however, these dues have apparently been paid sporadically rather than regularly. The second source, the sale of confidential reports on revolutionary activities, was highly important until 1933, when the Federation became a membership organization. These reports have been distributed to an exclusive list of subscribers for a fee of \$100 per year. Gifts constitute the most important source of income. The sums Jung received from this source during the years 1931-1934, inclusive, follow:<sup>11</sup>

AMERICAN VIGILANT INTELLIGENCE FEDERATION

Table 5

LARGE CONTRIBUTORS TO THE AMERICAN VIGILANT INTELLIGENCE FEDERATION, 1931-1934

Date	Donor	Amount
1931		
July 18	Rockford Bank & Trust Co.....	\$500
18	Central Trust Co.....	100
August 6	Rockford National Bank.....	500
13	First National Bank, Joliet.....	500
13	Baldwin National Bank.....	100
13	Commercial Merchants National Bank of Peoria.....	100
19	American National Bank of Peoria.....	100
28	First National Bank of Joliet.....	500
29	Rockford National Bank.....	500
September 2	Peoria National Bank.....	136
October 24	Continental National Bank.....	200
24	Rockford National Bank.....	100
1932		
January 4	Rockford National Bank.....	175
16	" " ".....	175
February 3	" " ".....	175
19	Mrs. Finley J. Sheppard.....	1,000
19	H. B. Joy.....	1,000
May 5	Mrs. Finley J. Sheppard.....	1,000
June 20	" " ".....	1,000
July 8	Sears, Roebuck Co.....	250
22	William Wrigley.....	500
September 29	First National Bank.....	500
19	Donnelly & Sons.....	100
October 11	International Harvester.....	1,000
December 2	William Wrigley, Jr.....	50
10	First National Bank.....	250
20	John H. Harding.....	200
28	Mrs. Finley J. Sheppard.....	250
1933		
February 10	Mrs. Finley J. Sheppard.....	800
24	Harris Trust & Savings Co.....	50
March 22	William Wrigley.....	250
June 6	First National Bank.....	100
9	Sears, Roebuck Co.....	100
10	A. B. Dick.....	100
July 5	Corn Products Refining Co.....	100
12	Sterling Morton.....	50
31	Stewart Warner.....	100
August 22	International Harvester Co.....	250
23	General American Tank Car Co.....	100
25	Northern Trust Co.....	100
29	Bendix.....	105
September 20	Mrs. Finley J. Sheppard.....	200

ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

Date	Donor	Amount
1934		
February 14	Mrs. Finley J. Sheppard.....	\$1,000
June 5	Edison General Electric Appliance Cp.....	50
8	Corn Products Refining Co.....	100
12	Mrs. Finley J. Sheppard.....	25
13	Stewart Warner Co.....	100
16	A. B. Dick.....	100
July 11	Florsheim Shoe Co.....	50
26	Victor Manufacturing & Gasket Co.....	25
August 10	Phoell Manufacturing Co.....	50
15	Northern Trust Co.....	100
Total.....		\$15,511

What motives induced these firms and individuals to contribute so liberally to Jung's organization? The opinions of Lieutenant Mike Mills, head of the "Red Squad" of the Chicago Police Department, expressed in the course of a Congressional hearing about radicalism in Chicago, are somewhat illuminating in this connection.

Congressman Weideman: There are certain men who promote organizations that are constantly fighting the "reds." Is this not so?

Lieutenant Mills: Yes, sir.

Weideman: And the more newspaper publicity we have on all this communistic proposition, do you think, or will you give your idea as to whether or not it makes it easier for them to do a lot of "faking" and collect some money in fighting an imaginary foe?

Mills: The societies and associations that are always howling about communism or any other "ism" are doing it for their own benefit.

Weideman: For their personal gain, would you say?

Mills: To make a little money.

Weideman: In other words, there are some men who are executive directors of some organizations that keep themselves in a job by keeping the public mind aroused on the subject?

Mills: They can go up to some of the wealthy members of the society and say "We are trying to fight communism and we would like to have a little donation"—and they are getting them.

An examination of Table 5 will indicate the nature of the large contributors. Of the \$15,511 collected, Mrs. Finley J. Sheppard (the former Helen Gould), banks, and businessmen each donated approximately one-third—about \$5,000. Lieutenant Mills' testimony probably explains Mrs. Sheppard's interest. The businessmen's contributions were undoubtedly motivated by an additional factor—the service of small-scale labor espionage. In the midst of the depression when manifestations of popular discontent made the wealthy feel insecure, Jung's suave solicitor would visit an industrialist and

AMERICAN VIGILANT INTELLIGENCE FEDERATION

increase his insecurity by exaggerated accounts of insidious Communist power—perhaps with particular reference to the situation in his own plant. The Federation offers to be of service by sending several "representatives" to his factory to ferret out any Communists. The industrialist becomes panicky. He reaches for his checkbook. Along with his check he gives Jung's solicitor a list of his employees. A week later the list comes back with four or five names checked and perhaps the notation, "These men are Communists and should be fired."

Seven Jewish enterprises have contributed to the Federation's coffers. Obviously, Jung's solicitor did not mention that their contributions would be used to spread anti-semitic propaganda. The McCormack Committee's report was quite accurate when it concluded, "the contributors had no knowledge of the purposes for which the money was used."

Why the banks paid a total of \$5,000 is more difficult to explain. Perhaps a clue is to be found in the following type of article appearing in the *Chicago Tribune*, July 28, 1932. It was headed:

RAID BARES RED PLOTTING OF RUNS TO RUIN BANKS

The sources of propaganda causing runs on many Chicago banks was believed to have been exposed yesterday with the seizure of literature in a hotel room at Pontiac, Michigan, detailing the operations of a communist plot to wreck the financial structure of the American nation. . . .

When apprised of the seizure of the letters, Melvin A. Traylor, president of the First National Bank, said that there was no doubt that runs on Chicago banks were caused by false rumors spread by telephone and anonymous letters. . . .

According to the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, which has records of communists and their activities, "Comrade H. G." is Harry Gannes . . . Gannes, officials of the Federation said, was in Chicago in the spring of 1931 when bank runs first became serious. (*Chicago Tribune*, July 28, 1932.)

In July of the same year Melvin Traylor believed the revolutionists were causing runs on banks; in September and December his bank paid the Federation \$750, and the following June it contributed \$100 more. What specific service the Federation performed can only be conjectured. Probably, it furnished confidential bulletins on the operations of the "Reds", giving the bank's officers the pleasant feeling of possessing "inside" information. As for the contributions by the Rockford and Joliet banks, Jung's secretary<sup>12</sup> explains that they were payment for "Americanization campaigns". Possibly the need for such campaigns was felt in Rockford because it is close

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

enough to the Wisconsin border to have been influenced by the Wisconsin progressive movement; and in Joliet because that city is an industrial town with a large foreign population which may have been restive during the depression. These circumstances may have made local bankers uneasy.

The success of the Federation in eliciting funds from businessmen and bankers is attributable to C. Ralph Burton—an extremely able gentleman. Jung seems to have valued Burton's services greatly; the latter has received forty percent of everything he has collected.<sup>13</sup>

Two other small items confirm the fact that Jung has obtained most of his income from wealthy persons. One is a report of the Chicago Better Business Bureau; in discussing the Federation, the report stated: "The Bureau is advised that this organization has the support of some very prominent men in Chicago. . . ." The other is a letter written by Jung in which he boasted, "Its (the Federation's) influence to large taxpayers and prominent citizens is not sneered at." Since August, 1934, no definite records of large contributions to the Federation have been known. The revelations of the McCormack Committee may have resulted in the drying up of some of these sources of funds or may have compelled Jung to shroud in secrecy his further solicitations.

### CASE STUDY

A clear conception of the Federation as a functioning whole may be best obtained by an examination, or "case study," of the correspondence between Jung and Peter Armstrong, his field representative. The letters quoted herein indicate Armstrong's illiteracy, his propaganda technique, Jung's preoccupation with money matters, and the type of persons interested in the Federation. Most of the letters were written between January and April, 1934; at that time, the Federation's field headquarters were at Grand Rapids, Michigan. In his letters Armstrong identified himself as "No. 31" and Jung as either "No. 1," or "A. G." He penned his first letter from Grand Rapids on January 14, 1934. It read:

Dear No. 1,

Yours of Twelfth instant received and Mr. Shera delivered your package to me last Saturday.

Mr. Thompson and Mr. Tolliefero were out of town so I'll try to get in touch with both on Monday. Saturday a.m. I had one hour and 20 mi. talk with editor of G. R. *Herald* Mr. Frank Sparks. He read my credentials and after conversing a while we agreed upon that something should be done and done in a hurry. I left with that chap our three documents—memo on Foster, AVIF programme, blue C.P.U.S.A. chart. Facing the Facts, and Vigilant. I think it will be

## AMERICAN VIGILANT INTELLIGENCE FEDERATION

a good idea if you send him a few lines mentioning how glad you are e.t.c.

Same evening I received invitation to attend dinner at Dr. Ferris N. Smith (639 Plymouth blvd. Grand Rapids, Mich.) He is a very prominent, rich and internationally known Plastic Surgery specialist. In my honor we had two bottles of champaign and other things beside. . . . So last night she (Mrs. Smith) pledged herself to AVIF and will sign card on my return back to Grand Rapids.

About a month later No. 31 had made a truly promising contact and wrote:

Dear A. G.

Send Set of "Vigilante" to Mrs. Eastman J. Sheehan, 211 E. 62d St., New York City, N. Y. She is a Catholic and so is She Lousy with money, may become members.

On February 15, No. 1 wrote:

Dear No. 31

Enclosed find herewith . . . a letter of introduction from Art Young to Senator F. C. Walcott. . . .<sup>14</sup>

Did you collect any money from Fred C. Oldham, No. 631, or from Margaret A. Norris, No. 1103, or Clark Drury, No. 1115?

On February 23, No. 1 again wrote:

We now have fifteen members at Grand Rapids. All of them have received their instructions and some literature.

You have done some splendid work in making contacts, but we have got to be getting some financial aid from some of these contacts, or we will be getting nowhere.

And again on March 6th:

Understand from your telephone conversation with Miss Rose that you are to meet the ex-governor.<sup>15</sup>

Then came a long report from No. 31:

3/19/34 Grand Rapids

Tomorrow noon I am to talk before the Army & Navy Club about 75 invitats send out. At 4:30 Rev. Brown will come and take me for another meeting where I have to talk also.

Peninsular Club Sunday Forum has put me on program on second Sunday in April month. Kihwany's and Rotary are approaching Mr. W. about me talking there. Mr. Buist (The Bookman) yesterday was selling here Protocols at 50¢ a piece (same as our edition). It was sold out in no time. Is he a member? A. G. that new hook by Col. Sanctuary made a present to Dr. Ferris Smith. Oh, boy, Is he hot on protocols? He bought from Buist two copies one for himself

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

personally and other he expect to put into circulation amongst his friends. He is 100% . . . .

\* \* \*  
Next Thursday I have to talk hefor group of Mrs. Rowe. Saw Mr. Stickney he want me to meet some of his friends. Mrs. Stickney asking me to come in May to Traverse City and start our chapter over there. . . .

Sometime between March 19 and 27, No. 31 reported:

. . . Tonite I have to go to Hudsonvill and speak before group of dutch farmers in that vicinity. Capt. Crowhaw made arrangements about my appearance on 2 more meetings in April.

Cherio. Yours as usual

P.S. Sending G. R. Herald commentary on my speech at Army & Navy Cluh.

On March 27, No. 1 replied:

Dear No. 31,

I'll endeavor to write to our Grand Rapids friends as rapidly as I can get around to it.

It was good to have the account of your talk in the Grand Rapids Herald. I congratulate you on the good work you are doing. . . .

On April 9, 1934, No. 31 listed his speaking engagements for the week:

Dear No. 1,

. . . sometime next week to Toledo, Ohio to talk before High school audience in school auditorium. Will stop Ann Arbor to talk on campus, on 15th will go to Middleville to talk before congregation of 300 at morning service. Tomorrow have to talk before group where Jew-lawyer Shoulsky will be present.

The following day No. 1 wrote:

Dear No. 31,

. . . Of course we will accept Dr. Brown's membership as a remittance. . . .

Sometime between April 9 and 13, No. 31 queried:

. . . P.S. How's about late relises?

Dr. S. has one. Am I entitled to my copy or not. Send me also Mrs. Dilling Book. Please. Send you money shortly.

No. 31

A Federation member evidently should never, never lower himself to arguing with a Jew.

## AMERICAN VIGILANT INTELLIGENCE FEDERATION

Dear No. 31,

I sent two copies of "The Red Network" via parcel post, addressed to No. 28. It should reach you Monday. . . .

I cannot understand why you should have permitted yourself to get into an argument with Harry Shouldsky, and I am certainly disgusted to think that No. 483 would lend herself and her home to a debate between yourself and a J. . . .

If I had been down there I would certainly have vetoed the idea unless there are some circumstances that I know nothing about which might have altered my considered judgment in having you demean yourself to have any truck with any representative of the Trihe. They are tricky and will probably misquote you. You know how they intrigue and say things that are definitely derogatory. I am distressed that No. 483 did not have the courage to turn down the request for the use of her home for the debate between S. and yourself.

. . . be a gentleman as you always have been and hold your ground and you will win out.

On "April 14th-16th", No. 31 dutifully reported:

Dear No. 1,

This Sunday I was speaker at church meetings at Middleville . . . Church was packed to limit. My talk began at 10:30 a.m. and ended at 1:30 p.m. Good crowd and good talk. . . . Coming Wednesday starting for Toledo, O. to talk before High school students group in a luncheon and talk in Ann Arbor before group of Students. . . .

P.S. G. R. general meeting will be held coming Tuesday at Pantling Hotel. Expecting around 50 or 60 peoples:

On April 21 Mrs. J. Eastman Sheehan, the Catholic lady that is "lousy with money" reappears in the correspondence. She is to be duly scared by the "Communist" conspiracy, though kept in the dark about the Federation's plot against part of her fortune.

Dear No. 31,

. . . In the meantime tell No. 28 that we have sent "The Red Network" to Mrs. J. Eastman Sheehan, Mr. John A. Parks and Mr. William Hatton, and will follow this with a brief note. We also sent two copies of the book to No. 28.

A day later No. 31 replied:

Dear No. 1,

On our way to Detroit we had a chance to stop and see Mrs. Smith friends at Ann Arbor. You may expect at least one order on Red Network from there. Big prospects for cracing open of all University for A.V.I.F.

Now speaking of Moamee, Ohio, I had three meetings there. . . . I talked before assembly of high school students (around 200-250). Same day at 3 pm I had Womens group of Moamee one hour and

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

half and at 8 pm till 10 pm we had a forum for men and women in Presbyterian Church.

### MEMBERSHIP

In only one period—April, 1933 to late 1934—was the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation a membership organization.<sup>16</sup> Prior to April, 1933, it was merely a business that sold confidential information on "radicalism." Since late 1934 it has resembled the groups headed by Winrod and Edmondson in that its membership has consisted solely of its mailing list. Nevertheless, this change is not as significant as it may seem. The kind of person connected with the Federation has remained about the same throughout. Businessmen who had taken the confidential information service were among the first persons Jung approached when he organized his membership group. His present mailing list, incidentally, includes the names of people associated with him in his earlier enterprises.

The McCormack Committee has revealed that the Federation has had between 600 and 700 members.<sup>17</sup> However, Jung has been the only really active member. As both Jung's secretary and a volunteer worker at his office testified at the committee hearing, Jung virtually is the Federation.<sup>18</sup>

At the time of the McCormack investigation, the Federation had no regularly elected officers such as a president or vice-president, as most organizations have, nor did it have any by-laws. Nevertheless, for a period an élite group of enthusiastic members did constitute what was called the "Inner Circle." Its functions probably pertained to policy formation. During the summer of 1934, the "Inner Circle" met sometimes as often as once a week. Usually less than a dozen attended the meetings, but once, in July, 1934, a dinner meeting attracted thirty-seven persons.

What may be said concerning the persons associated with the Federation? An examination of the correspondence previously presented shows that the persons mentioned as members or prospective members had what are popularly called "good English names." The names, literally transcribed, are:

Dr. Brown	Fred C. Oldham	Mr. Shera
Capt. Croshaw	John A. Parks	Dr. Ferris N. Smith
Clark Drury	Gerry D. Pettibone	Mr. Stickney
William Hatton	Mrs. Rowe	Mr. Thompson
Margaret A. Norris	Mrs. J. Eastman Sheehan	

Not a single name ends in "ak," "witz," or "ski." While a few of the names may not be those of "true Anglo-Saxon aristocrats,"

## AMERICAN VIGILANT INTELLIGENCE FEDERATION

the list suggests that most members may come from very old native stock or may be descendants of early American immigrants. The list of persons reported attending "Inner Circle" meetings leads to the same conclusion:

Cantwell	Nichols	Clemens
Gail Carter	Saunders	Studebaker III
Lawrence Harper	Sims	Webber

Middle-class people have been most interested in the Federation. Substantiating this generalization is the fact that field representative Peter Armstrong addressed such groups as Kiwanis, Rotary, and Army and Navy clubs—undoubtedly using these clubs as recruiting grounds—and that in his correspondence with Jung he specifically mentioned as membership prospects such persons as the wife of an "internationally known" surgeon and a woman "lousy with money." Although upper-class people—industrialists and bankers—have contributed heavily to the Federation coffers, apparently none has ever attended a Federation meeting. The explanation might be that their contributions were made solely in gratitude for a specific service, e.g., ridding a plant of "Communists."

Under the heading of membership must also be considered the "hanger-on," a person who joins an anti-semitic organization either to make what money he can from it or to learn the business with the view of establishing an organization of his own. Chief "hanger-on" of the Federation was Peter Armstrong ("No. 31"), its field representative. A White Guard Russian, Armstrong was born Peter Afansiëff in Petrograd in 1893 and came to this country in 1922 under that name. On the Pacific coast he assumed the alias of Prince Kushubue, but after a while changed it to Armstrong. Shortly thereafter, he got himself into trouble. On November 12, 1929, he was arrested in Chicago on two charges, viz., tampering with an automobile and forging a United States Treasury check. On December 19, 1929, he pleaded guilty to the latter charge and, four days later, Federal Judge F. J. Kerrigan sentenced him to eighteen months in the penitentiary, where he served his term under the name of Afansiëff. He was next heard of late in 1933, working in Jung's office together with three other White Guard Russians on a new translation of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. He soon became affiliated with the German-American Bund and the Nazi party in both New York and Chicago. Later he established himself as head of the Right Cause Publishing Co., printers of the anti-semitic *American Gentile*. In February, 1935, when Jung accused him of withholding funds, they parted company.

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

Another White Guard Russian who frequented Jung's office, though never so closely connected with it as Armstrong, was Captain Victor DeKayville (born Livok), a former officer in the Czarist army. He had entered the United States illegally by deserting the ship on which he was a seaman. He was associated with Jung's colleague, Armstrong, in the publication of the *American Gentile*.

Most interesting of all the "hangers-on" is Alfredo Caputo, an Italian with a cosmopolitan background, who was associated with Jung for some months in 1931 and who gave him much "valuable" information concerning the trend of subversive movements throughout the world. After Caputo returned to Europe, the Berlin police asked the Chicago police for information on him and received the following reply:

Der Polizei-Präsident  
Landeskriminalpolizeiamt,  
Berlin, Germany

Dear Sir:

Alfredo Caputo got very friendly with Mr. Jung and furnished him with all sorts of "fake" or incorrect information.

Jung paid Caputo's expenses while he was in Chicago and when Caputo was ordered deported he made him European representative of the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation.

I am attaching hereto a memorandum on Caputo, which gives a short outline of his activities while here.

The memorandum read:

*Alfredo Caputo* (alias Aldo Corpe-Aldo Stolle-Aldo Stoll- Stelle Schwertz). Born in Constantinople on Aug. 14th, 1885, of Italian parentage, therefore he is an Italian citizen.

He came to the United States on or about September 20, 1930, and on his arrival in Chicago made the acquaintance of one Harry Jung, head of the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation. . . .

Caputo told Mr. Jung that he was a member of the Italian Secret Service.

Caputo was wanted by the Geneva police for a theft of jewelry. During the Italian-Turkish war in 1911 he was in Turkey and was suspected of being a Turkish spy. During the Balkan war he resided at Dedeogatch, where he was disposing of stolen goods. In Bulgaria he was a spy for Greece, for which the Bulgarian authorities sentenced him to death. . . . In August of 1916 he was arrested by the English police and kept at Malta until the end of the war. He was expelled from Portugal in 1926.

I am informed by a report from Louisville, Ky., that Caputo made the acquaintance of one L— R— of Lydon, Ky. . . . he further offered to said gentleman a contract for the building of European buildings at said Fair [Chicago World's Fair] taking from him \$275.65 as registration fee, which was paid to him . . .

## AMERICAN VIGILANT INTELLIGENCE FEDERATION

furthermore Caputo requested R— to loan him \$4500 stating that he had to go to China to sign a contract for arms and ammunition and airplanes with Chang Kai Shek, the Chinese Dictator, who he claimed was his personal friend, and claiming the possibility of making a profit of \$300,000. He offered part of the profits to Mr. R—. . . .

Caputo was arrested by the U. S. Immigration authorities and ordered deported to Italy. However, upon his arrival in New York, his fare was paid to Germany by Harry Jung on the steamer "Berlin." He left on Sept. 24th, 1931 in accordance with United States Department of Labor Order No. 55761-659.

An interesting commentary on Jung's gullibility is the manner in which he described Caputo in a Federation memorandum marked "Strictly Confidential". It read:

Back in the days prior to 1914, a beautiful and spacious hotel in Moscow was owned and operated by a wealthy Italian family. It was famed throughout the world for its cuisine and hospitality. Then came the dark days of the World War, followed by the two revolutions in Russia. This magnificent hotel property and estates of its owners were confiscated and nationalized. The family was divided and disappeared in the way incident to all victims of the Bolshevik terror.

One member of this family survived. . . . The rest of the family was never heard from. They were either killed or exiled to the convict camps or prisons of Siberia. . . .

. . . this sole survivor of the once prosperous family dedicated his life to combatting the menace of Bolshevism.

Jung went on to report how Caputo, the "sole survivor", came to the United States, tried to make certain officials of the United States government realize the hideous menace of Communism to this country but was ignored and even insulted. Finally:

Learning of the existence of the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation in Chicago, Mr. Aldo [Caputo] decided to come here to seek the aid and support of the officials of the A.V.I.F. . . . he immediately went into secret session with A.V.I.F. executives which continued for a period of nine days. During these extended sessions, Mr. Aldo unfolded an amazing series of Bolshevik activities in the United States under the direction of trusted Moscow agents in this country. . . .

There followed four pages detailing these activities and finally this conclusion:

Thus we find the Bolshevik program for the destruction of the United States to be all embracing and lacking in no single detail. In the face of all this, our Departments of Government . . . sit idly by wooing this menace instead of taking action against it. . . . This fatuous and willful disregard of the world's greatest menace will



## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

cost the United States dearly in the not far distant future unless the American people become aroused and demand that the Executives of Government take steps to kill the rapidly growing cancer of communism.

The fact that Jung paid both Caputo's expenses in Chicago and fare to Germany perhaps indicates that Jung really believes what he writes. This consideration may be incompatible with characterizing Jung as a smooth gentleman who, tongue-in-cheek, sent out wild tales to gullible businessmen. Jung believed a crafty international crook and was just as much deceived as the simple-minded gentleman from Lydon, Kentucky.

The "hangers-on" of the Federation have not all been real or alleged Russian emigres. Gale S. Carter ("No. 37"), a former head of the Illinois Ku Klux Klan, shared Jung's office for some time. Second to Jung, he appears to have been the most active man in the Federation. In 1934, Carl Strover and George Schaeffer, Chicago members of the Federation, tried to launch an organization with the ostensible objective of keeping Jews out of the legal profession. Few lawyers, however, were willing to pay dues and the plans dissolved.

Lieutenant Nelson E. Hewitt, a Naval Reserve officer and one of the original incorporators of the Federation, worked with Jung until April, 1934, when he and Jung quarreled and parted. Thereupon, Hewitt formed an organization of his own, the Advisory Associates. It published a leaflet called the *Advisor*, which was patterned closely after Jung's *Vigilante* and *Items of Interest on the Patriotic Front*. Never large, the organization is now inactive.

---

## CHAPTER IX

---

### The Industrial Defense Association

THE Industrial Defense Association was organized in 1924 and incorporated in 1926. Its stated aim is "to inculcate the principles of Americanism to industrial, religious, fraternal, and educational circles." The organization is small in importance when compared with such groups as the Defenders of the Christian Faith, the German-American Bund, or the Silver Shirts. Like the majority of anti-semitic organizations, it is a one-man affair; the entire work of the association is performed by its secretary. In many aspects it resembles Harry Jung's American Vigilant Intelligence Federation. Both organizations existed long before the depression, both wield influence in narrowly restricted geographical areas, and both have leaders with similar backgrounds.

#### LEADERSHIP

Edward L. Hunter, the head of the Industrial Defense Association, was born in 1875. The fact that two of his marriages were performed in New Hampshire and that his first employment was obtained there indicates that much of his early life was spent in that state. When he was married in 1908, he gave his occupation as "traveling man." About five or ten years afterward, he entered the line of endeavor that he was to follow for the rest of his life—that of unmasking and denouncing people as criminals or as revolutionaries.

He began his detective career in a humble way. At first, he worked in a Boston department store catching shoplifters and later on for the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company in New Hampshire, securing evidence for court use in cases of allegedly false accidents.<sup>1</sup> By 1919 he had progressed to the point where he felt competent enough to offer his detective services in murder cases. But his career in this field was not successful because of two pronounced fiascos. One concerned the murder of Herbert Clifford of Manchester, New Hampshire, in 1919. Hunter was employed by the county government to handle the case. He successively accused three persons, each of whom was found innocent. The sheriff finally dismissed Hunter and, when questioned years later, referred to him as a "fraud and a liar." The other fiasco in Hunter's life occurred when a Manchester newspaper hired him

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

as a private detective to investigate a local murder. As a result of his investigation, the paper charged a certain individual guilty of the murder. This was afterwards found to be unfounded and the paper had to stand a heavy libel suit.

Hunter's two blunders in criminal detection probably were important in causing him to enter the field of labor espionage. The transition is indicated by an article in the *Manchester Mirror* of November 10, 1919. It stated that he visited the town "in the course of a trip here to get extradition papers for rioters wanted at Raymond." A question regarding his occupation prior to organizing the Industrial Defense Association in 1924 elicited the following answer:

For about ten years I was employed in counteracting Communistic influences . . . largely in New Hampshire. Just prior to the formation of the Industrial Defense Association I conducted a campaign against the anarchists and outlaw unions in Lynn.<sup>2</sup>

Another interesting aspect of Hunter's life is his three or four marriages. The office of the Registrar of New Hampshire records three marriages—one in 1908, another in 1919, and still another in 1924. The 1908 and the 1919 marriages are both recorded as second marriages. Quite possibly Hunter, desiring not to have too many instances of matrimony on his record, omitted mention of one when applying for a license in 1919. Incidentally, one of the marriages ended in a divorce obtained on grounds of extreme cruelty.

Hunter has been an outspoken anti-semite for a number of years. In this respect he differs from the other leaders, nearly all of whom acquired their anti-semitism about the time Hitler came into power in Germany. In 1930 Hunter referred to "Jew-controlled Soviet Russia" in one of his letters. In 1933 a person who had been observing his activities for some years expressed surprise concerning "the first circular I have seen for years emanating from that office [Hunter's] in which there is no reference to the Jews as such."

### PROPAGANDA

The Industrial Defense Association disseminates its propaganda through its speakers' bureau as well as through pamphlets, leaflets, and books. "We conduct a Patriotic Speakers' Bureau," proclaims the organization's letterhead; and although the "Bureau" consists solely of Mr. Hunter, the number of speeches made is large. Hunter maintains that he has given "approximately seven hundred lectures on the subject of the 'Menace of Communism' before Legion groups, Rotary, Kiwanis, churches."<sup>3</sup> He does not say how many years these lectures covered.

## THE INDUSTRIAL DEFENSE ASSOCIATION

To the above list of groups addressed should be added the Federation of Women's Clubs of Boston and several chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Hunter's outspoken attacks on the Jews have resulted in loss of not only further invitations to speak before American Legion and Kiwanis groups, but also some of his influential members and financial support. His persistence may indicate the sincerity of his convictions. Were he interested only in making money, he would probably confine his attacks to persons identified with revolutionary ideologies; thus, he would keep within the mores and would be acceptable everywhere.

The most important propaganda channel for the Industrial Defense Association is the distribution of pamphlets and books. The publication that it distributes in greatest volume is the "special report," a four-page leaflet appearing at irregular intervals—whenever Hunter is moved to write one. He averages about four reports a year. A list of typical reports follows:

*Special Report on World Bolshevism*  
*Special Report on World Anti-Judaism*  
*Special Report on Soviet Trade in the U. S. A.*  
*Special Report—Radicalism Penetrates the Emergency Peace Campaign*  
*Christianity vs. Judaism*  
*The Prophets of Despair*  
*The Fear Complex.*

Hunter's literary output is not confined to such brief tracts. His long pamphlets include:

*Legislation for Hatred*  
*Does the CIO Seek to Promote Red Revolution?*  
*Will This Arch Conspirator Rule American Labor?* (Below the title is a picture of Stalin)  
*The Grave Diggers of Russia*  
*The Swan Song of Hate*  
*Jewish Jazz; Tin Pan Alley.*

In addition to his own pamphlets, Hunter distributes the following publications: *Zionism* (a tract of the Militant Christian Patriots of England), Irwin L. Potter's *The Cause of Anti-Jewism in the United States*, Elizabeth Dilling's *The Lady Patriot Replies*, and *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Hunter has advised his correspondents to write to Nazi Germany for detailed anti-semitic propaganda. In a letter dated September 29th, 1938, he wrote:

I would advise you to send a couple of dollars to World-Service, 4 Daberstedterstrasse, Erfurt, Germany . . . asking them to place your name on their mailing list.<sup>4</sup>

World-Service prints anti-semitic propaganda in six languages and distributes it on a worldwide scale.

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

The volume of propaganda put out by the Industrial Defense Association cannot be accurately estimated. Hunter asserts that two of his pamphlets had a very large distribution—40,000 to 50,000 for *Grave Diggers of Russia* and about 30,000 for *Does the CIO Seek to Promote Red Revolution?* These figures may be padded in order to inflate the importance of the Association. Even if not padded, however, the figures are probably not typical. Hunter states that his regular mailing list is part of perhaps 5,000 or 6,000 address cards in his office. Assuming his regular mailing list is half this number, only about 3,000 people would get his special reports. Moreover, since his other material and pamphlets are much more expensive, their circulation is probably considerably less than 3,000.

Another activity sponsored by the Industrial Defense Association is small-scale labor espionage. Hunter speaks of "supplying confidential reports to persons who have nuclei of reds in their factories and places of business." He avers that he has advance information on strikes, offering to notify not only the factory owners but also the state police and the local Chamber of Commerce. For these activities, he asserts, he receives no pay. Their extent cannot, of course, be compared with that of large agencies specializing in labor espionage.

### MEMBERSHIP

Several of Hunter's letters soliciting funds state that "a contribution of two dollars will put your name on our mailing list." Actually, the mailing list and the membership list seem to be one and the same. Consequently, for two dollars or more contributors receive all or most of the literature Hunter distributes. An estimate of what part of the 5,000 or 6,000 addresses in Hunter's files definitely form the mailing list may be gleaned by noting that his total budget for 1935 was a little more than \$6,500. If all contributors gave only two dollars, the membership would be 3,250. Since, as will be shown later, a small number of wealthy persons are probably the chief support of the Association—obviously donating much more than two dollars—the membership in all likelihood does not exceed 1,000.

In the past, the Association did operate on a formal membership basis and had a little more than 200 members. The change to the present basis probably occurred in 1933, when the Boston Better Business Bureau investigated Hunter. The report issued by the Bureau accused Hunter of fomenting anti-semitism and resulted in a number of withdrawals from the Association and, apparently, in the abandonment of a formal membership list. The existence of a president, a

## THE INDUSTRIAL DEFENSE ASSOCIATION

vice-president, a treasurer, and a Board of Directors is the only present vestige of membership.

As to the character of the membership, it is noteworthy that the Association has a higher proportion of persons from the upper-income group than any organization heretofore considered. This was particularly true when the Association was first founded. As one person familiar with the membership puts it, "Originally Hunter interested some very fine people in creating his corporation . . . On the Board of Directors at that time were General Edwards, prominent clergymen, and some persons of fine standing." Another observer uses nearly the same words: "When he began his activities, Hunter surrounded himself with men of standing . . . but, following his anti-semitic attack . . . all the people of standing withdrew from his Board of Directors." Although these resignations undoubtedly lost Hunter some wealthy and distinguished members, ample evidence indicates that his supporters still include many wealthy persons. The evidence reveals that active members of a predominantly upper income group, the Daughters of the American Revolution, have purchased his literature, that he has addressed many chapters of the D. A. R., and that, at the behest of one chapter, he investigated Mary Emma Woolley, famous educator and president of Mt. Holyoke College from 1900 to 1937.

On the Association's Board of Directors in 1936 were a genealogist, an attorney, a clergyman described as an "active Legionnaire", and a man who referred to himself as "active in military, naval, and insurance circles". In the following year, a consulting engineer succeeded a Baptist fundamentalist "minister and evangelist" as president of the Association.

A list that Hunter swore represented the distribution pertaining to orders for his pamphlet: *Does the CIO Seek to Promote Red Revolution?* further brings into high relief the character of his Association's membership. The list presented to a Federal officer in December, 1937, follows:

Table 6  
PURCHASERS OF THE PAMPHLET "DOES THE CIO SEEK TO PROMOTE RED REVOLUTION?"

Date	Name	Number Sent	Remarks
June (1937)	Brockton Shoe Mgrs. Assn. E. C. Gray, Secretary	2-3	Never ordered quantity
	M. Lawrence Turner	1000	
	Mrs. David Rumbough (DAR)	50	
	Max Rosen c/o Western Slipper Co. Blue Island Av., Chicago	50	

ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

	Date	Name	Number Sent	Remarks
June	16	Edith Bowdoin (DAR)	1000	
	17	Sangatuck Fairfield Co.	150	Paid \$2.00
	18	American Federation of Labor by William Green	0	Inquiry on 100,000 Quoted \$3.50/M
	18	E. O. Walker	50	
	21	American Tool Works Co. Cincinnati, Ohio J. B. Doan	100	Paid \$2.00
		Marion B. Bishop	15	
		New York State Economic Council, Inc.		
		Sara H. Birchell	10	
		The Home Owned Store Magazine Des Moines, Ia.	25	
		Mrs. E. T. Moulton	12	
	24	C. B. Butterfield	5	
	30	Stuart Nelson	1-2	
July	1	Women Defenders of America A. M. Saunders	2-3	Sought 500
	9	Massachusetts Spec. Commission	14	
	12	"The Defenders" [of the Christian Faith] M. L. Flowers	100	
	14	Karl Newmann	100	
	15	Mrs. Francis Copson c/o Scott's Laundry Springfield, Mass.	500	Wouldn't pay bill. Returned
	19	Mrs. M. A. Shawn Elizabeth Knauss	0 25 25	
	20	L. R. Brown George W. Hunter American-European Fellowship	50 25	
	22	Rev. E. A. Dohherstein	25	
	23	F. H. Copson c/o Scott Laundry, Inc. Springfield, Mass.	500	
	23	Dr. Chas. Pichel Box 25, General Post Office, N. Y. C.	—	"Will you please send a few copies to my friend Paul M. Winter, Box 115, Shavertown, Pa. He wishes to give them to the owners of the anthracite coal mines there, who are fighting the CIO too." Further request refused
	26	Karl Newmann		
	27	H. S. Hickman	50	
	28	Doren Hadley	25	
	29	Nellie Hall	12	
	30	Paul Winter, Ph. D. Civil Intelligence Bureau, Shavertown, Pa.	25	Combatting Communism in the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania

THE INDUSTRIAL DEFENSE ASSOCIATION

	Date	Name	Number Sent	Remarks
August	6	Carl Waltz	4	
	6	Keokuk Laundry	100	
	7	E. J. Walters	3	
	11	Jerry Lawson	1	
	16	H. B. Kenyon	25	
	26	Mrs. H. T. Leedon	25	
	30	Peter Holman	Quantity	
	31	American Vigilante Minute Men	5-10	
September	4	Public Building Service Employees' Union Owen Cunningham Minneapolis, Minn.	100	
	7	Lillian Remshack	4-5	
	8	Kathleen Morse (DAR)	500	
	9	Gwinn Bros. & Co. Huntington, W. Va.	1000	As per wire urging prompt shipment
	24	Mrs. J. E. Hanley	1	
	27	Mrs. H. T. Leedon	50	
	28	Lambert Castle Assn.	12	
	29	Sun Ship Employees' Assn. Chester, Pa. W. N. Appleby, Secretary	50	Parcel post collect as requested
October	5	R. H. Frye	10	
	12	R. T. Wecker (Rev.)	20	
[No date]		Virginia Constitution Crusaders	3	

Not all groups or persons named in the preceding table are necessarily on the regular mailing list of the Association. Nevertheless they are probably typical of the membership. The five types worth noting and examples of each follow.<sup>6</sup>

The anti-semitic organizations: the Defenders of the Christian Faith (M. L. Flowers and Elizabeth Knauss) and the Civil Intelligence Bureau.

The anti-revolutionary organizations: the Women Defenders of America, the American Vigilante Minute Men, and the Virginia Constitution Crusaders.

Industrial concern: Keokuk Laundry and Gwinn Bros. & Co.

The Manufacturers' Associations: the Brockton Shoe Manufacturers' Association and the New York State Economic Council.

The company unions: the Public Building Service Employees' Union and the Sun Ship Employees' Association.

The presence of manufacturers' associations and company unions points to the fact that the membership of the Industrial Defense Association includes the most militant foes of bona fide trade unionism.

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

Another point regarding the membership is the absence of anyone whose name suggests relationship to recent immigrant stock. In so far as the names of the original incorporators of the organization and of the 1936 board of directors are typical, they are almost without exception Anglo-Saxon: General Bishee, Ross H. Currier, Miss Eva F. Dalby, General Edwards, David I. Egan, Mrs. E. M. Fales, Adeline Fitzgerald, William J. Good, Courtenay Guild, the Rev. Wallace Hayes, Harry A. Jung, Mrs. C. W. Mansus, the Rev. Charles L. Page, Eliza J. Pearson, Commander Charles H. Shaw, Jerome O. Smith, Miss Evelyn Tankend, and the Rev. Herbert R. Whitelock.

As for the geographical distribution of members, the Association may be considered a Boston or, at most, a New England, organization. Members of the Board of Directors give as addresses Boston, suburban Boston, or towns within a short distance of Boston. However, Hunter sends his literature outside of New England; his material has appeared in such distant places as San Francisco. He has spoken several times in Rhode Island, apparently with the intention of extending his activities there; but this is about as far away from Boston as the Hunter influence extends. His is definitely a localized organization as compared with the German-American Bund, the Silver Shirts, or the Defenders of the Christian Faith.

Since the membership of the Association apparently includes a proportionately greater number of wealthy people than that of the Silver Shirts or of the Defenders of the Christian Faith, its educational level most likely is also much higher. The Silver Shirts are interested in the message of the Great Pyramid; the Defenders, both in this message and Biblical prophecy. Such interest suggests limited education, a characteristic of the lower-income groups. The literature of the Association, however, contains no references to prophecy, either of the Great Pyramid or of the Biblical variety.

### FUNDS

"Mr. Hunter, who gets his money by prodding D.A.R. ladies with the Red Scare," is the brief and reasonably accurate way a Bostonian, long familiar with the Association, described the source of Hunter's finance. More accurately, the Association has three sources of income: sale of literature, lecture fees, and gifts—the third being the most important. The Association developed financially until 1933 when the expose of anti-semitism caused the loss of many rich supporters. Among those lost was a lady who had given \$40,000. For the year 1936 the entire budget was only a little more than \$6,500. At present the finance is on a relatively wider basis. Each January the old mem-

## THE INDUSTRIAL DEFENSE ASSOCIATION

bers receive a letter urging them to make their contributions as generous as possible. Moreover, the organization is constantly soliciting non-members. As one such solicitation stated, "We are seeking new friends to enlarge our work of counteracting and suppressing destructive influences." A two-dollar contribution and the contributor's name goes on the mailing list. In some instances, Hunter's pamphlets have carried appeals for funds, and donations of as little as a dollar are held acceptable. Nothing more precise can be said of Hunter's finances, for since the McCormack Committee investigation (1934) all contributions have been recorded as "anonymous" and all records of earlier contributions destroyed. Hunter has profited by the experience of his friend Harry A. Jung, the names of whose financial backers were revealed by the McCormack Committee.

An interesting sidelight on Hunter's operations is the fact that he once tried to get money from the German Government. William Dudley Pelley, chief of the Silver Shirts, made a similar attempt in 1933.<sup>7</sup> On March 3, 1934, Hunter wrote to the Friends of Germany, the predecessor of the Friends of the New Germany:

Several times I have conferred with Dr. Tippelskirch [then German Consul in Boston] and at one time suggested that if he could secure the financial backing from Germany, I could start a real campaign along lines that would be very effective.

All that is necessary to return America to Americans is to organize the many thousands of persons who are victims of Judaism and I am ready to do that at any time.

No evidence attests that Hunter actually received any money from the German Government; he probably never did. The significant point, however, is that he wanted "to inculcate Americanism" with German money.

---

## CHAPTER X

---

### The Paul Reveres

THE distinction between an organization that is anti-revolutionary and anti-semitic and one that is merely anti-revolutionary is not always easy to draw. The groups considered so far are openly and frankly anti-semitic; and they do not care who knows it. Among the scores of American organizations that are termed only as anti-revolutionary, however, a few are covertly anti-semitic. Often the leader is anti-semitic while the rank and file is not and, moreover, is unaware of its leader's prejudice. Such a group is The Paul Reveres. It is analyzed not because it is an important group, but because it is typical of several organizations that border on anti-semitism.

#### LEADERSHIP

Mrs. Albert W. Dilling, famed among red-baiters as the author of the *Red Network*, was the real founder of The Paul Reveres. The organization dates back to early 1931, when Mrs. Dilling first discussed with Colonel Edwin Marshall Hadley the formation of some sort of anti-Communism club. Nothing concrete was done, however, until October 17, 1932. On that date, Colonel Hadley and Kenneth E. Shephard called, by appointment, at Mrs. Dilling's home in Kenilworth (suburban Chicago) for the purpose of putting her idea into effect. Mrs. Dilling suggested the name—*The Paul Reveres*. Hadley formulated the purposes of the organization:

- To promote patriotism
- To advance Americanism
- To combat radicalism.

On November 21, 1932, the group obtained a certificate of incorporation. Headquarters were then set up at 120 South La Salle Street, Chicago. Shortly thereafter, Mrs. Dilling resigned because, according to her admission, Colonel Hadley, the president, had become anti-semitic. An active membership existed until 1935, but from then until early 1937 it was merely Colonel Hadley. Subsequently the name of The Paul Reveres disappeared from the door of the La Salle Street office, and the organization passed quietly into limbo. Though The Paul Reveres had several other elected officers and a national

## THE PAUL REVERES

advisory council of no less than 37, Colonel Hadley was the dominant personality. As Mrs. Dilling's husband put it, "It's a one-man organization. The advisory council is only a bunch of stuffed sbirts."<sup>1</sup>

Unlike all other anti-semitic leaders, save Father Coughlin and perhaps Colonel Sanctuary, Hadley did not earn his living by heading his organization. A wealthy retired businessman, he has ample money and time to develop his prejudices. He was born in Peoria, Illinois, in 1872. In *Who's Who in Chicago* (1931 edition) he pointed with pride to the fact that he was an eighth generation American and that his ancestors arrived from England in 1630. Again unlike all other anti-semitic leaders, save Colonel Sanctuary, he had a college education, receiving his A.B. from Northwestern University in 1895. His business experience,<sup>2</sup> according to *Who's Who*, was as follows: "Entered business in Chicago, 1893, occupying positions as auditor and credit man; with others organized the Dudley Coffee Co. and the Ceylon Planters Tea Co., 1898, of which he was secretary, treasurer, and director until 1906; chairman of the board of the Chicago-Cleveland Car Roofing Co., 1908-1925." During the World War, Hadley served in the Intelligence Division of the General Staff. His title "Colonel" comes by virtue of his rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Illinois National Guard. This title is his pride and joy; Mr. Dilling asserts that life would be meaningless for him if he were to be deprived of the title.<sup>3</sup> He belongs to several military organizations—the Reserve Officers Association, the American Legion, the Military Intelligence Association, and the Army and Navy Club of Washington, D. C. He is a member of the Union League Club and a thirty-second degree Mason.

Hadley's presidency of The Paul Reveres was not his first effort at combating revolutionary ideology. In 1929 he wrote a novel entitled *Sinister Shadows*, which purported to "expose" revolutionary teaching in American colleges and the corruption of youth by revolutionary and partly insane professors.

#### PROPAGANDA

The Paul Reveres have had no regular periodical. In late 1933 and in early 1934, a sheet called the *Paul Revere Message* appeared, lasting only a few issues. The list of literature distributed by The Paul Reveres is not long; much of it is Hadley's own creation.

- Organize*
- The Paul Reveres*
- Sinister Shadows* (1929)—E. M. Hadley
- T.N.T.* (1931)—E. M. Hadley
- The Rape of the Republic* (1935)—E. M. Hadley
- Facing the Facts* (1934)—Earnest Sincere
- The Plan in Action* (1934)—Earnest Sincere

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

The last two mentioned are definitely anti-semitic; the others are fulminations against revolutionaries. The name, Earnest Sincere, looks patently like a pseudonym. As a matter of fact, Albert W. Dilling has declared that Hadley is the real author of *Facing the Facts*. In a letter to Rev. Albert D. Bell of Chicago, Dilling<sup>3</sup> wrote:

I was very much surprised to have you state that . . . the pamphlet, *Facing the Facts*, supposedly written by one "Earnest Sincere," was in reality the work of Mr. Harry Jung of the AVIF. For I happen to know that Lt. Col. Edwin Marshall Hadley is its author.

You will recall that something over a year ago Mrs. Dilling and I were associated with Col. Hadley in The Paul Reveres. . . .

While still associated with him, however, I read in manuscript in the Colonel's office and at home identically what later appeared in *Facing the Facts*. It was intended at the time to get it out as a "Paul Revere" publication. . . .

That Hadley also wrote *The Plan in Action* admits of little doubt; its sub-title is *A Sequel to Facing the Facts*. Moreover, the style of the two is the same and the wording of the last two pages of each pamphlet is almost identical. The Reveres never distributed any great volume of propaganda. *The Rape of the Republic*, the most widely circulated of all the organization's literature, probably reached only several thousand persons.

Though The Reveres have had no formal speakers' bureau, several prominent members have frequently spread the organization's message from the public platform. Hadley, Major John L. Griffith, "Big Ten" Athletic Commissioner, and Ray Warren, the first vice-president, are known to have addressed Rotary Clubs, chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution, American Legion Posts, and the Executives Club of Chicago. Moreover, the central chapter of The Paul Reveres has frequently listened to speakers at weekly or bi-weekly luncheon meetings.

### MEMBERSHIP

The Paul Reveres have had a membership in the strict sense of the word: those who paid dues and whose names were on the records, not merely those who read its literature. On the whole, the organization has been a failure. Though it has aspired to be a nationwide group, it has had only a few short-lived locals in and near Chicago and one in San Diego, California. As a matter of fact, the only two locals that are known to have existed beyond dispute are the so-called "central" chapter in Chicago and the branch in San Diego. Some evidence indicates that two locals may have been organized in suburban Chicago—one in Glencoe and another in Wheaton.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Dilling, how-

## THE PAUL REVERES

ever, thinks The Reveres have had as many as twenty chapters in the Chicago region.<sup>5</sup> The "central" chapter has had fifty or sixty members. Mr. Dilling speaks of his wife's addressing groups interested in forming a chapter and of sixty or seventy persons enrolling as members after such a meeting. Nevertheless, since the number of chapters are not known, no estimate of the total membership can be made.

More satisfactory information concerning the kinds of persons who have been members is available. The membership requirement specifies that applicants must be native-born citizens.<sup>6</sup> Jews are not eligible, according to Ray Warren, the first vice-president.<sup>7</sup> The existence of chapters in two rich residential suburbs of Chicago—Glencoe and Wheaton—would suggest members in the upper income groups. The fact that the "central" chapter met at noon in a downtown hotel might imply a membership of prosperous businessmen. The affiliations of certain national officers further strengthen these implications: the first vice-president has been president of the Executives Club of Chicago; the second vice-president has been described<sup>8</sup> as "a former Marine educated at the University of Missouri, and now an advertising consultant in Chicago"; and the national secretary bears the title "captain" and has been "for many years active in patriotic movements."<sup>9</sup>

Further information on the membership can be gained from examining the list of the 37 national directors, most of whom have merely lent the prestige of their names to The Reveres. The significant fact, however, is that these 37 constitute by far the most distinguished group of persons connected in any way with the organizations treated in this study. The directors include a former President-General of the Daughters of the American Revolution, three men bearing the title "Judge", a past commander of the American Legion, three college presidents, a Congressman, a former Governor of Kentucky, and the President of the American Legion Auxiliary. Of the eighteen directors residing in Chicago, eleven are listed in *Who's Who in Chicago*, eight hold an A.B. degree, and six have a degree from some professional school. In brief, The Paul Reveres has consisted of well-educated native-born Americans, primarily from the upper-income groups.

### FUNDS

The organization has operated on a small budget; it has never had much money coming in or going out. The founders, Colonel Hadley<sup>10</sup> and Mrs. Dilling<sup>11</sup> started things off with money from their own pockets. The two other sources of finance have been dues fixed inde-

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

pendently by each chapter (the "central" chapter fixed it at \$5 per year) and contributions collected at meetings.

### CONCLUSIONS

The degree to which The Paul Reveres have been anti-semitic merits close examination. First, Jews have not been permitted to join The Paul Reveres. When Hadley learned that some Jews were members of the San Diego chapter, he insisted that they be compelled to resign, whereupon a feud developed and, finally, the chapter dissolved.<sup>12</sup> Hadley has, of course, attacked the Jews in the pseudonymous writings which he has distributed secretly from headquarters of The Reveres. As Mr. Dilling has aptly stated, "He lacks the guts to write openly against the Jews, but he whispers against them constantly." Mrs. Dilling agrees with her husband.

Significant information has been volunteered by Major John L. Griffith, himself no anti-semitic: "The organization has been accused of anti-semitism, but this is untrue. Some individuals may have been anti-semitic, but that does not imply that the organization has been so."<sup>13</sup> This suggests that Griffith was well aware of Hadley's anti-semitism and anxious to protect the name of the organization as a whole. On the other hand, several other officers of The Reveres have been known anti-semites. Ray Warren, the first vice-president, has been very much interested in the Silver Shirts. In February, 1934, he manifested his anti-semitism in an address based on the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and delivered before the Executives' Club in the Sherman Hotel, Chicago. Then, too, the national advisory board of The Reveres has included Colonel E. N. Sanctuary, head of the anti-semitic American Christian Defenders, and Dr. Arno C. Gaebelein, author of *The Conflict of the Ages*, an anti-semitic book. Hence, The Reveres, though not officially anti-semitic, have been so to a degree.

The difference between an organization like The Reveres and one that is openly anti-semitic lies in the general type of person associated with each. To none of the preceding organizations discussed in this study have distinguished people been willing to lend the prestige of their names. Clearly, then, anti-semitism is not quite respectable; it is "in poor taste"; the "best people" do not espouse it—not openly, at least. Anti-revolutionary activity, on the other hand, is always acceptable. People who have had the best educational opportunities and who have elicited the highest degree of deference are glad to support openly an organization "fighting Communism and promoting Americanism." Witness their presence in large numbers in the Daughters of the American Revolution and the United States Chamber of

## THE PAUL REVERES

Commerce, two groups active in the distribution of anti-revolutionary propaganda.

Since open espousal of an anti-semitic group is counter to the *mores*, whatever support such groups receive from the wealthy and socially prominent must take the quiet form of financial contributions. Moreover, when a few leaders are anti-semitic, they must express their anti-semitism furtively. They must write against the Jews under pseudonyms—and talk in whispers. Should the anti-semitism become widely known, the wealthy and socially prominent members might be faced with the possibility of being publicly embarrassed because of their connection with an organization led by anti-semites. Hence, in borderline organizations the anti-semitic work must be unobtrusive. An actual case in which numerous resignations followed a revelation of anti-semitism was one involving the Industrial Defense Association.<sup>14</sup>

In summary, Americans of wealth and distinction will affiliate openly with anti-revolutionary groups but, for the present time at least, not with groups both anti-revolutionary and anti-semitic. Nevertheless, should conditions favorable to the spread of anti-semitism be intensified, upper class persons might embrace anti-semitism.



---

## CHAPTER XI

---

### Typical Minor Groups

#### THE JAMES TRUE ASSOCIATES

A ONE-MAN concern, the James True Associates, resembles the Edmondson Economic Service in a number of respects. It has made no pretense at being a membership organization. It has operated chiefly through a weekly newsletter called the *Industrial Control Report*. It differs from Edmondson's organization in that its literature reaches a much smaller number of people—principally because Edmondson keeps the price of his weekly letter within the reach of the man in the street while James True charges the comparatively high price of twelve dollars a year for his reports.

The James True Associates first appeared in July 1933. Like all of the organizations in this study save the Industrial Defense Association and the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, it was born of the depression. For a time the Associates had a subordinate organization called "America First," a channel for distributing propaganda to those persons unwilling to pay the twelve-dollars-a-year fee for the newsletter. It appears, however, that "America First" existed chiefly on paper.

#### LEADERSHIP

James B. True, Jr., head of the organization, was born on July 1, 1880. The earliest record of his career is his employment with the *Chicago Tribune* from 1917 through 1919. He started as an investigator in the advertising department and, when he left the *Tribune*, was an advertising salesman. From this period down to the time of the establishment of his organization, True remained in journalism. As he said in one of his bulletins:

When the New Deal came in, the undersigned had been a newspaper correspondent, mainly in the business field, for more than twenty years. For about twelve years he had been the Washington representative of several outstanding business publications. He had been a successful free-lance feature writer,<sup>1</sup> and had been on the staffs of two metropolitan newspapers. His total savings amounted to about \$18,000 tied up in three pieces of real estate.

## TYPICAL MINOR GROUPS

With regard to the origin of his organization, True has explained:

After the New Deal got under way, the undersigned refused to join in the propaganda ballyhoo. Because he insisted on writing facts and pointing out economic fallacies, newspapers and business magazines refused to publish his articles for the first time in his life. Then, because he was convinced that the truth was indispensable to business interests, he began publication of the reports.

He was assured of adequate financial support for two years; but it did not materialize. About that time, although the writer did the work of several men, the venture was precarious, and was continued as a patriotic duty. Then the writer sold his property at a great sacrifice, and invested the return in the publication and the subsequent meagre living of his family.

True is the most profoundly neurotic of all the anti-semitic leaders. Even Pelley with his spiritualism suffers by contrast. True is sadistic. He has invented and applied for a patent on an extra-heavy policeman's club which he calls a "Kike Killer." Details on this weapon, as well as an excellent insight into True's personality, have been furnished by Dr. L. M. Birkhead, National Director of the Friends of Democracy. Shortly after an interview with True, Dr. Birkhead wrote:

I found True to have the look and determination of a fanatic. Spread out on his desk were a half-dozen wooden pieces which looked like the lower ends of an axe handle. On examination I found that they had straps running through one end much the same as a policeman's billy. When Mr. True began to explain to me that he had a very militant organization in the South which he was equipping with arms in order to kill off the Jews,<sup>2</sup> I began to understand what these hip-pocket-flask billies were for. They were Mr. True's "Kike Killers."

"What are you trying to do through your organizations?" I asked Mr. True.

Quick as a flash he replied, "To defeat the only real enemy that America has today." That enemy, it appears, is the Jew Communism which the New Deal is trying to force on America.

"We may have to do something more militant than vote," Mr. True said with the emphasis of a man who believed that bullets might have to be substituted for ballots.

I asked him just what he meant by being more militant.

"What I mean is that the thing has possibly gone too far for us to save the country by political methods," True replied. "I had a man in here to see me very recently. He has an organization of 1,500—a very secret organization with each man sworn to absolute secrecy. These Southern men were ready to kill the Jews and the Negroes in order to protect the white women of the South."

"I don't understand the connection of the Jews with attacks on the white women of the South," I said.

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

"Why, I tell you what I mean," said Mr. True. "These Southern white men have discovered that rich Jews have hired 'big, huck niggers' to attack white women. These Jews give the 'niggers' plenty of money and tell them to go after the white women. Yes, these fellows down there are going to kill every Jew in their section of the South. Doesn't sound very nice, does it? Call it a pogrom if you want to, but it is the one language the Jews understand. The Jews, you see, are guilty of sex crimes just like the 'niggers.'"

"Now, wait a minute, Mr. True, what do you mean?" I asked.

"You may not know it, but mulattoes of the South are ninety percent the children of Jewish fathers and 'nigger' women," Mr. True told me. "You see, every Jew wants to sleep with a nigger wench."

"But how do you know about the mulattoes?" I inquired.

"Well, because it is an established fact that Jewish blood is yellow, and mulattoes are yellow, aren't they?" Mr. True asked with an affirmative answer expected.

Mr. True speaking: "I don't see any way out except a pogrom. We have got to kill the Jews. Ballots don't mean anything to them."

"May I ask, Mr. True, if you aren't oversimplifying the problem?" I said by way of interruption. "Suppose we could line up the fifteen million Jews up against a wall and shoot them, that wouldn't solve our problems. We'd still have them with us—the same old problems."

True speaking: "That's just where you're wrong. Our problem is very simple. Get rid of the Jews and we'd be on the way to Utopia tomorrow. The Jews are the source of all our troubles. That's plain to anyone who makes a study of this problem, and I have studied it deeply."

"Who is it that is trying to destroy our Constitution and the American form of government? The Jew."

"You take the hiring of 'big, huck niggers' by the Jews to attack white women in the South. That's right in the *Talmud*. The *Talmud* teaches the Jew that it's all right to do that. Only recently a police chief had to shoot one of these 'niggers' and he found out that he was hired by a Jew to rape a white woman."

"Communism is the major part of the Jewish conspiracy today. Why, just look at Russia where the Jews run the country."

"I want to leave with you a thought," said Mr. True as I arose to leave. "I predict a pogrom for America. I don't see how it can be avoided."<sup>3</sup>

### PROPAGANDA

True utilizes three media of propaganda: his *Industrial Control Report*, miscellaneous pamphlets, and, occasionally, the public platform. By far the most important medium is the printed, four-page *Industrial Control Report*, the first issue of which appeared on July 10, 1933. True temporarily suspended publication after the November 14, 1936 issue—an experience shared by many of his colleagues. Not

## TYPICAL MINOR GROUPS

until early September, 1937, did he resume publication. Since then an *Industrial Control Report* has appeared every week.

True bragged to Dr. Birkhead that the subscribers to the reports numbered 2,500. A more accurate basis for estimating the circulation is True's statement of his organization's total income down to the 1936 election. In his report of November 14, 1936, True stated, ". . . in more than two years we have collected exactly \$7,167.78 to carry on the work." The subscription rate was \$12.00 a year. Assuming all income was from subscriptions and none from outright gifts (which was probably not the case) the maximum number of subscribers would be only about six hundred. A complicating element enters into this estimate if circulation is defined as the number of people who actually read a publication. In one report True asserts that

"a checkup covering approximately twenty subscribers showed that the smallest number of readers per report was about twenty-five, and that the largest number was more than two hundred. We are confident that for at least three years the average number of readers per report has been more than thirty."

In view of his exaggeration to the Reverend Birkhead, this report must be taken with a grain of salt. If True is conceded a liberal average of five readers per report, his total circulation was 3,000. His ten months suspension of publication, however, must have cost him many readers and put his circulation below that figure.

True's circulation of pamphlets was small compared to that of other anti-semitic organizations. Among those he distributed were *Americans Everywhere* and *What Is Roosevelt?*, both apparently written by him, and *Toward Armageddon* by the Squire of Krum Elbow—(Howland Spencer,<sup>4</sup> a wealthy supporter of the Edmondson Economic Service). In 1938 True put out *Gold Manipulations and Depressions*, a 76-page special report selling for five dollars. His publication *Americans Everywhere*, True declared, had a circulation of 10,000.

True seldom speaks in public. The only record of a speech is that before the Rotary Club of Baltimore in October 1934. He has probably made other speeches, but, as an ex-newspaperman, he has made his forte his writing.

### MEMBERSHIP

The readers of the *Industrial Control Reports* may be taken as True's membership. The number was never more than 3,000 and in 1940 was down to perhaps 1,000 or 2,000.

The character of the members is indicated by the fact that True always made his appeals to businessmen. In a letter soliciting new

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

subscribers to the reports he wrote: "It is our desire to furnish you with authoritative information and those facts which are necessary for the intelligent management of your business." Similarly, in the last report before his ten month suspension of publication, he sketched the history of his enterprise, saying:

We submitted to four hundred business leaders the first definite program of activities to counteract the subversion of American institutions. . . .

We were convinced that the facts regarding the New Deal and the promotion of communism by the administration would be indispensable in the intelligent management of business. We also believed that the business interests, finding our information of value, would eventually support our work by paying the small annual fee required for our service.

Since in every case the appeal was to the business executive, the inference that many of his subscribers were business executives is reasonable. The facts that the reports cost twelve dollars a year and that True would offer a special 76-page report for five dollars further suggest a wealthy membership.<sup>5</sup> Unlike Edward L. Hunter's and Harry A. Jung's organizations, which drew members from a small geographical area, True's reports reached such distant places as Portland (Ore.), Hamilton, (O.), Pittsburgh, (Pa.), Mobile, (Ala.), and Rochester, (N. Y.). In summary True's membership came from the upper-income group—mostly business executives throughout the country.

### FUNDS

The finance of the organization seems to have come wholly from subscriptions to the reports and from True's own pocket. True maintains that he "sold his property at a great sacrifice, and invested the return in the publication." To be sure, the subsidiary organization, America First, had a membership fee of \$1.00, but this source could not have yielded much because the organization was so insignificant. True may have received a few outright grants of money, but they too could not have been large. In short, True's organization has not been a financial success. He testified to this himself when he said in his November 18, 1936, report: "We have been sadly disappointed in the financial support of industry. . . ."

## THE AMERICAN CHRISTIAN DEFENDERS

The American Christian Defenders, as well as the World Alliance against Jewish Aggressiveness, consists solely of Colonel E. N. Sanctuary and his office at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Of the latter

## TYPICAL MINOR GROUPS

organization little is known. Information on the American Christian Defenders, however, is available. It has neither a membership nor a regular publication. Its propaganda activity consists of the pamphlets that the Colonel distributes—many of which he writes himself—and of the lectures he delivers. The first mention of the organization appears in April 1934.

### LEADERSHIP

Eugene Nelson Sanctuary was born on November 6, 1870, in Hinesburg, Vermont. Here he spent his boyhood and attended high school. In 1893 he received a degree in civil engineering from the University of Vermont. Sanctuary has apparently spent a good part of his life in civil engineering, and the practice of his profession has necessitated his living in many cities throughout the country. Though he was not sufficiently distinguished in his profession to appear in the *Who's Who in Engineering*, he has apparently made a comfortable living. At least, in 1936 he was in a position to make a rather heavy investment in a mining venture. During the war, Sanctuary attained the rank of major in the United States Army and held the post of "Personnel Officer, Military Railways in France, Office Chief of Engineers." His present title of "Colonel" is bona fide, coming from the National Guard. Sanctuary is a prominent layman in the Presbyterian Church. He is also treasurer of the American-European Fellowship for Christian Oneness and Evangelization, an organization devoted to evangelization, Bible distribution, and relief work in Europe.

Sanctuary gives an interesting account of the origin of his anti-semitism. When questioned by the Reverend Birkhead, he explained: "Well, during the war I was in charge of the Railroad Division of the army. I saw a lot of interesting documents. I saw the documents by which Jacob Schiff transferred \$1,000,000 to Lenin and Trotsky with which to foment the Russian Revolution." Sanctuary continued to the effect that these documents have been destroyed and so cannot be produced now. Moreover, he was evasive when asked to describe more precisely the nature of the documents.

### PROPAGANDA

Sanctuary's one work that could be properly described as a book is entitled *Are These Things So?*, but Sanctuary has written a number of pamphlets; these include *Roosevelt Warming the Serpent* (December 1934), *The Man Behind the Men Behind the President* (Harry A. Jung, co-author), *Litvinoff, Foreign Commissar of the U. S. S. R.*, *Tainted Contacts*, *Blind Leaders* (December 1935), *Communism, Its Heart and Goal* (1936), and *Is the New Deal Communism?* In 1937

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

the Colonel seemed to be writing less, and to be distributing more material by other authors. In addition to considerable propaganda published by the Edmondson Economic Service, he disseminated such material as *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, Fred Marvin's *Fool's Gold* and *Fruits of Paternalism*, Hadley's *The Rape of the Republic*, *International New Dealism* (by the League for Constitutional Government), and *The Key to the Mystery* (by the Montreal Women's Anti-Communist League). The only clue to the number of pamphlets distributed is Sanctuary's assertion to the Reverend Birkhead that the American Christian Defenders together with the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation had distributed 50,000 copies of their *The Man Behind the Men Behind the President*. Since the pamphlet appears to have been an exceptionally successful one and since the two organizations were distributing it, the figure 50,000 is probably far too high to be typical of the average circulation of Sanctuary's pamphlets.

Sanctuary travels and lectures extensively. In the latter part of May and early June, 1935, he lectured in New York state—in Binghamton, Rochester, and Buffalo. He has also addressed such groups as the Alexander Forum Foundation (New York City, January 1936), the Buffalo Bible Institute, the American Legion Post of Pawtucket (January, 1936), the Toronto International Christian Crusade, and the Citizens League against Communism (New York City, October 1937).

### MEMBERSHIP

Though readers of Sanctuary's literature and auditors of his lectures may be considered the membership, no basis for estimating their number is available. Many of the members apparently are fundamentalists, for Sanctuary has lectured before such Fundamentalist groups as the Buffalo Bible Institute and the Toronto International Christian Crusade. Moreover, his prominence in the Presbyterian Church and in the American-European Fellowship for Christian Oneness and Evangelization suggests that his members include followers of numerous other religious organizations.

### FUNDS

The American Christian Defenders obtain income from fees for lectures and from the sale of literature. Sanctuary lectures on a strictly fee basis. As James True stated, giving Sanctuary a little free advertising in one of his *Industrial Control Reports*, "He [Sanctuary] is a well known authority and lecturer on the development of Communism in the United States . . . His fee is moderate." (Sanctuary reprinted

## TYPICAL MINOR GROUPS

this quotation in the back of one of his pamphlets.) One edition of Sanctuary's *Litvinoff, Foreign Commissar of the U. S. S. R.* was published by the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, the official newspaper of the German-American Bund. In all probability, Sanctuary received payment for the permission to reprint his work. More important sources of finance are Sanctuary's "angels". A New York stock broker<sup>a</sup> contributed \$5,000 jointly to Edmondson and Sanctuary. Other "angels" include a wealthy woman (for a time one of Harry Jung's chief sources of income), the head of a chain of novelty stores, and a prominent physician of New York and Boston.

### THE ORDER OF '76

The discussion of some of the foregoing organizations may give an exaggerated impression of the strength of the anti-semitic movement. Actually, many anti-semitic organizations are both short-lived and insignificant. An example of such an organization is the defunct Order of '76. Its existence was reported in the *American Hebrew* as early as December 1933. It achieved a maximum membership of 168 members in 1934, at that time having an office at 139 East 57th Street, New York City. After 1934 the group became inactive, and by 1936 it had formally dissolved. For a time, Royal Scott Gulden, the founder and head of the organization, continued disseminating propaganda from a post office box, but his efforts grew progressively feebler. Finally, in 1937 he announced that the menace of Communism was over and stated that he was busy "hustling real estate" and making himself a nice living.

### LEADERSHIP

Only fragmentary information concerning Royal Scott Gulden is known. He is a middle-aged, New York real estate broker. Apparently, his financial condition has not always been of the best, for in May, 1936, he filed bankruptcy proceedings in a New York court, listing nearly \$23,000 of liabilities and no assets.

The Order of '76 never had a publication of its own. Its literature, which came from other anti-semitic organizations, was blessed with the mark of its rubber stamp, and, judged by the standards of even the smallest of the organizations considered so far, was distributed in only small quantities. The propaganda distributed included A. P. Quill's *Off the Record*, John B. Trevor's *The Recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States—an American Political Problem*, and the October, 1935 Bulletin of the Immigration Restriction Leagues; material published by the Edmondson Economic Service, reprints of

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

Hearst feature articles on the Communist menace and of George E. Sokolsky's "Revolution", an article in the New York *Herald Tribune* of March 29, 1937; and reprints, with comments, of radical literature, such as *What to Do When Held for Arrest* and *What to Do When Held for Deportation*, both published by the International Labor Defense, and *Red Front*, an anti-fascist publication.

The membership of the Order, which at its height consisted of only 168 persons, was apparently almost entirely recruited from New York City. Attesting this statement is the evidence that all the charter members and the board of directors were New York residents. Since the charter members included three Army officers and one Naval officer,<sup>7</sup> the report in the December 8, 1933, issue of the *American Hebrew* that the Order was enrolling members from the National Guard appeared convincing. According to the magazine, "Our investigators know of instances in a famous New York regiment where the Order of '76 recently attempted and continues even now to recruit members. During the week just past activities have extended to another New York regiment." Another expose in a magazine listed in the ranks of the Order, United States Naval and Military Intelligence officers. The same article stated that the membership also embraced Union League Club members, New York City detectives, bankers, and businessmen.<sup>8</sup>

A former member of the Order who is in some respects typical is described as follows. He comes from an old-American family. He is wealthy and retired, possessing substantial real estate holdings. Since the Order dissolved, he has held, for the enlightenment of his friends, anti-Communist meetings in his home; once he even invited a White Guard Russian to speak.

The names of the directors and the charter members do not show the "Anglo-Saxon" domination usually found in anti-semitic organizations. The names are John Beck, Herman E. M. Bernhard, William See Buck, Allen Farrell, William H. Gubrecht, Jr., Harriette Livermore, Henry P. Nelson, Jr., Ivan Tarasoff, and Kark F. Walz. The name, Ivan Tarasoff, suggests the lone White Guard Russian mentioned in connection with several of the other anti-semitic groups.

The finance for the Order came from the sale of literature and nominal membership dues. The financial difficulties and short span of life evidenced that the Order had no wealthy benefactors.

---

## CHAPTER XII

---

### A United Front?

**H**AVE the anti-semitic organizations cooperated? Have they formed a united front? Have they shown a willingness for organic unity and for monocracy?

Only fragmentary information exists on the first abortive effort towards unity. In the summer of 1934, eleven of America's anti-semitic leaders met in Lincoln-Turner Hall, Chicago, at a conference that lasted far into the night. Those known to have attended included Peter Gissibl, leader of the Chicago local of the German-American Bund; a second Bund representative; Harry A. Jung, director of the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation; and an Englishman by the name of Strath-Gordon. Two others believed to have attended were Colonel E. N. Sanctuary, head of the American Christian Defenders, and Colonel E. M. Hadley, national president of The Paul Reveres. The purpose of the conference—to coordinate the activities of anti-semitic groups—was apparently never achieved.

The next effort was the Asheville, North Carolina, meeting of August 12-16, 1936. The American Forward Movement, a newly-formed organization headed by the Reverend Ralph E. Nollner, invited many Catholic and Protestant clergymen and laymen throughout the country to attend a conference against "Communism," for "Americanism," etc. Though the 200 clergymen and laymen who signed the invitation included 35 of the most prominent Jew- and Red-baiters in the country, nothing in the invitation implied anti-semitism. But no Jews were invited. When this omission was pointed out, two Jewish rabbis were promptly asked to speak; they accepted.

When the anti-semites arrived in Asheville and learned that Jewish rabbis were to speak, 45 of them bolted the conference, formed their own organization, and convened at another meeting place. Among the helters were Gerald B. Winrod, Harry A. Jung, Robert E. Edmondson, James B. True, Colonel E. N. Sanctuary, George B. Deatherage, Howland Spencer, Nelson E. Hewitt (a Jung associate), and O. K. Chandler. The insurgent conference, which elected Winrod as chairman, was flagrantly anti-semitic in all its utterances; the regular conference, on the other hand, avoided anti-semitism. Although the in-

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

surgents decided to meet again in Washington, D. C., on October 15 and 16, somehow this meeting never materialized.

Several points regarding even the regular conference should be cleared up. Where did the Reverend Nollner obtain the generous financial backing? The expenses of all conferences were paid in cash, no questions asked. Equally interesting is the way Major A. Lloyd Gill, Hearst representative, seemed to be running the conference and the fact that it received considerable publicity space in the Hearst papers but was ignored elsewhere. Incidentally, Gill was closely connected with Myers Y. Cooper, former Ohio governor; the latter was an assistant to John R. Hamilton, the Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

The third effort towards a united front—the American Christian Conference held in Kansas City in August 1937—was an insignificant affair. The meeting was called by the American Nationalist Confederation, an organization which described itself pompously as “a coalition of Christian Anti-Communist Organizations” but which consisted chiefly of its director, George B. Deatherage. Although the heads of almost all anti-semitic organizations were invited, few attended. A possible explanation might be the fact that Kansas City is the home of the Reverend L. M. Birkhead’s Friends of Democracy, a group that has as one of its objectives the exposure of anti-semitic activity. Anti-semitic leaders knew that they could be carefully watched. At the first session of the conference, messages were read from Robert B. Edmondson, M. L. Flowers (Winrod’s office manager), and Colonel E. N. Sanctuary. Fritz Kuhn also wrote, expressing regret that he could not be present and asserting confidently, “God is with us.” The conference ended without plans for a future meeting or steps toward a united front.<sup>1</sup>

In brief, the anti-semitic groups have shown no sign of willingness to abandon their separate operations and unite in one effective organization under a central command. This does not mean, however, that these groups do not cooperate. Their cooperation takes many forms. The most common is the distribution of each other’s literature. For example, the New York local of the German-American Bund has distributed Pelley’s Silver Shirt literature; the Industrial Defense Association, Winrod’s pamphlet, *The Hidden Hand*; the Order of ’76, Edmondson’s material; and Pelley, Jung, and the Bund, The Paul Reveres’ booklet, *The Plan in Action*. Frequently, the publication of one group has carried articles written by the leader of another group, e.g., James True’s series of articles in Winrod’s *Revealer* and in the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* of the Bund.

## A UNITED FRONT?

Anti-semitic organizations have frequently supplied one another with speakers and officials. For instance, a prominent member of The Paul Reveres, Major John L. Griffith, addressed a meeting sponsored by the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation. On several occasions Edmondson has addressed Bund meetings. Harry Jung has been on the directorate of Edward Hunter’s Industrial Defense Association, and Colonel Sanctuary on that of The Paul Reveres.

In their survey of Bund activities on the Pacific coast, *Chicago Times* reporters obtained statements from Bund members indicating cooperation with the Silver Shirts: “We get some support from the Silver Shirts”<sup>2</sup> and “the Silver Shirts are with us.”<sup>3</sup> In at least two instances, the Bund and the Silver Shirts have held joint meetings:<sup>4</sup> one in Chicago, one in Los Angeles.

That the anti-semitic leaders have met one another and know one another personally is implicit in the evidence of the various forms of cooperation. In fact, their leaders have openly acknowledged their friendship. Pelley has called True, Edmondson, Winrod, Jung, Sanctuary, and others his “co-workers,” stating, “I know these men personally. With the exception of Winrod I have talked with them in private.”<sup>5</sup> Hunter, in addition to boasting of fraternizing with True and Edmondson, has asserted that he has been in touch with “every patriotic group in the United States.”<sup>6</sup> Similar instances abound. When Fritz Spanknoebel, first fuhrer of the Bund, was in legal difficulties, he asked Royal Scott Gulden, head of the Order of ’76, to recommend a lawyer.<sup>7</sup> Colonel Sanctuary has referred to “my friend Edmondson.”<sup>8</sup> Colonel Hadley and Harry Jung came together at the meetings of the Military Intelligence Association to discuss such joint projects as a radio program. When Edmondson was being sued for libel against the Jews, Harry Jung and Colonel Sanctuary contributed to his “defense fund”;<sup>9</sup> the leaders of the New York Bund even permitted Edmondson to use Bund property for fund-raising rallies. Winrod, on his way home from Europe, stopped in to confer with True;<sup>10</sup> and once Fritz Kuhn had a long talk with Pelley in Los Angeles. Then too, the anti-semitic leaders, through their publications, have indulged in mutual popularization and admiration. Winrod’s *Defender* flattered Harry Jung with the statement: “Few men are more feared by the despoilers than this great leader.”<sup>11</sup> Edmondson in one of his reports quoted Winrod’s *Defender* approvingly,<sup>12</sup> and Pelley in his *Liberation*, has done the same with regard to the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* of the Bund.<sup>13</sup> James True, the most generous of all in his recommendations, declared in his *Industrial Control Report*, “Every businessman in the country should read the special ‘LaFollette Edition’ of *Liberation*.”<sup>14</sup>

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

The foregoing facts do not, of course, cover all instances of cooperation between anti-semitic organizations; they merely indicate a few examples of the sort of cooperation involved. Why has cooperation been so limited? Why has it not been extended to include an effective united front? Perhaps because the leaders (except Father Coughlin, Colonel Hadley, and Colonel Sanctuary) make their bread and butter through their organizations and sense in a united front not only a threat to their independent solicitation and use of funds but a possibility of losing their employment. These facts do not necessarily question the sincerity of the leaders, inasmuch as the need for making a living often leads to rivalry rather than cooperation. That rivalry does exist is indicated by a letter written by Mrs. Estelle Barnard of Grand Rapids, Michigan. She describes a meeting of the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation addressed by field representative, Peter Armstrong, alias Prince Kushubue: <sup>15</sup>

After the meeting I went up to Mr. Armstrong who greeted me hopefully. I told him I was sorry I could not afford to belong to both organizations but that I am doing the same work as I am a Silver Shirt. He made a grimace. . . .

After a little more conversation, Mr. Shera huffed in, evidently afraid I was going to win the Prince over to *Liberation*. Mr. Shera says that once while in Harry Jung's office, Mr. Pelley claimed that he was the Messiah and he seems to class Mr. Pelley with all the other frauds. Over the phone . . . he maligns the leaders of the Silver Shirts. I wonder if Mr. Jung isn't afraid Mr. Pelley may "steal his thunder."

Mrs. Barnard appraised the situation accurately. Jung feared that the Silver Shirts might steal not only "his thunder" but—more importantly—his financial support in the community. Only a few months earlier, he had written Armstrong that "we have got to be getting some financial aid from some of these contacts, [in Grand Rapids], or we will be getting nowhere." Pelley also needed the financial support of Grand Rapids. Although Pelley and Jung are anxious to awaken the country to the "Jew-Communist menace," yet, since the country still slumbers, both must compete with each other in order to eat.

Both Pelley and Winrod are rivals not so much in the realm of finances as in the realm of prestige. The Defenders and the Silver Shirts are two of the largest anti-semitic organizations; hence, their leaders become logical candidates for the national directorship of any united front that may be formed. By the same token the two leaders become jealous rivals, for a united front could have only one fuhrer. An insight into this rivalry may be obtained from an article Pelley wrote for the *Liberation* of November 21, 1937:

## A UNITED FRONT?

When Gerald B. Winrod made a recent address in Ohio, a group of *Liberation* readers went to him point-blank . . . as to why he did not give more recognition to the work being done by Pelley of the Silver Legion. Winrod is reported to have replied: "I consider that Pelley is doing a great work, but I can't follow him in his religious ideas," obviously referring to Pelley's esoteric researches. So because Brother Winrod can't admit there is any other religious teaching but the Fundamentalism that glorifies the Jewish patriarchs, for the good of the United States he forbears to disclose to his people that a chap named Pelley exists.

Another factor that impedes unity is the presence of a large Catholic, anti-semitic movement headed by a Catholic priest—Father Coughlin and his followers. The leadership and membership of virtually all other anti-semitic groups are Protestant. Hence, it is quite unlikely that these Protestant leaders will ever subordinate themselves and their groups to a Catholic priest and equally unlikely that Coughlin will ever call on his followers to join in a "Christian front" behind a Protestant leader.

---

## CHAPTER XIII

---

### The Operations of 121 Organizations

THE preceding chapters have dealt with 11 anti-semitic organizations—the most important and the most typical of the 121 that have appeared in recent years. This chapter, however, will list all 121 organizations and will comment on the regions and periods that have nurtured all of them.

Although the number of the organizations creates the impression that the country is being engulfed by anti-semitic sentiment, a great proportion of them are far less significant than the short-lived Order of '76 described in Chapter XI. In many instances, an organization flashed into view only once. Such were the cases of the Christian Protective League and the American Gentile Youth Movement; the former in June 1938 circulated a few mimeographed anti-semitic letters in Mobile, Alabama, and about the same time the latter posted an anti-semitic sticker on the window of a Chicago candy store. Nothing else has ever been heard of these two organizations—an indication of their unimportance. Quite possibly the Christian Protective League consists of three gentile tailors who feel that their poor business results from the competition of the one Jewish tailor in the neighborhood. More striking as an example of a "peanut-sized" anti-semitic organization is the National Gentile League, which has a Washington, D. C., address. The pompous name and the address suggest a powerful, nationwide organization. Actually, the League consists of an unemployed and penniless person called Donald Shea, who occasionally finds some anti-semitic sympathizer willing to buy him a decent suit of clothes and to help organize a meeting which Shea can address on behalf of the National Gentile League. The substance of many an anti-semitic group is seldom more than a pretentious name.

The list below consists of groups that are quite definitely anti-semitic. Under the name of each group are noted the location of the headquarters, the date of the first record of existence (a rough estimate of the founding date), and the status in 1940—active, defunct, or doubtful. (The word "doubtful" is applied to those groups of which nothing has been heard of recently, yet of which there is no proof of dissolution.) In some instances, complete information is not available.

## THE OPERATIONS OF 121 ORGANIZATIONS

The A-C Society,  
St. Albans, W. Va.  
1938  
Active

Advisory Associates,  
Chicago, Ill.  
1934  
Defunct (1935)

America First, Inc.,  
Washington, D. C.  
1934  
Defunct (1936)

America in Danger  
Omaha, Nebr.  
1936  
Active

American Aryan Folk Association,  
Portland, Ore.  
1937  
Active

American Blue Corps,  
Sharon, Pa.  
1933  
Defunct (1934)

American Cavalcade,  
Washington, D. C.  
1938  
Active

American Christian Defenders,  
New York City  
1934  
Active

American Defenders,  
Coral Gables, Fla.  
1934  
Active

American Eagle Association, Inc.,  
Chicago, Ill.  
1934, 1936, 1939  
Active

American Fascisti (alias Order of  
Blackshirts),  
Atlanta, Ga.  
1934  
Doubtful

American Fascists (alias Khaki Shirts  
of America),  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
1932  
Defunct (1933)

American Federation of Youth,  
Chicago, Ill.  
1939  
Active

American Gentile Protective Associa-  
tion,  
Chicago, Ill.  
1937  
Active

American Gentile Youth Movement,  
Chicago, Ill.  
1938  
Doubtful

American-German Bund,  
New York City  
1933  
Active

American Guards,  
Chicago, Ill.  
1938  
Active

American Italian Union,  
St. Louis, Mo.  
1937  
Active

American Labor Party,  
Los Angeles, Calif.  
1934  
Defunct (1934)

American League Against Interna-  
tional Jewry  
1937  
Doubtful

American League of Christian Women,  
Pacific Coast  
1937  
Doubtful

American National Labor Party,  
New York City  
1935  
Active

American National Political Action  
Club,  
Chicago, Ill.  
1936  
Active

American National Socialist League,  
New York City  
1935  
Defunct (1936)



## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

American Nationalist Confederation,  
St. Alhans, W. Va.  
Active

American Nationalist Party,  
Los Angeles, Calif.  
1934  
Active

American Nationalists, Inc.,  
New York City  
1935  
Defunct (1936)

American Patriots, Inc.,  
Greenwich, Conn.  
1938  
Active

American Patriots Association,  
Terra Haute, Ind.  
1936  
Active

American Peoples Party,  
Chicago, Ill.  
Doubtful

American Rangers,  
Beverly Hills, Calif.  
Chicago  
1938  
Active

American School of Christian Democracy,  
Kansas City, Mo.  
1937  
Doubtful

American Science Foundation,  
Chicago, Ill.  
1938  
Active

American Vigilant Intelligence Federation  
Chicago, Ill.  
1927  
Active

American White Guardsmen,  
Pasadena, Calif.  
1936  
Doubtful

American Workers Progressive Club,  
New York City  
Defunct (1936)

Anti-Communist League,  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
1936  
Active

Anti-Communist League of America,  
1931  
Doubtful

Anti-Communist League of the World,  
Pacific Northwest  
1934  
Defunct (1935)

Anti-Jewish League to Protect American Rights,  
New York City  
1937  
Active

Arah Nationalist Party,  
New York City  
1936  
Active

Aryan League of America,  
New Orleans, La.  
1938  
Active

Association of American Gentiles,  
Chicago, Ill.  
1938  
Active

Association of Leagues.  
Cleveland, O.  
1937  
Doubtful

The Awakeners,  
Highland-on-Hudson, N. Y.  
1936  
Defunct (1937)

Benjamin Franklin Society,  
Waukegan, Ill.  
1934  
Doubtful

Black Legion,  
Detroit, Mich.  
1936  
Active

Black Shirts,  
Tacoma, Wash.  
Baltimore, Md.  
Union City, N. J.  
1936  
Active

Brotherhood of Builders of Business,  
Chicago, Ill.  
1936  
Active

## THE OPERATIONS OF 121 ORGANIZATIONS

Casa Italiana,  
New York City  
1939  
Active

Christian American Crusade,  
Los Angeles, Calif.  
1935  
Active

Christian Constitutionalist Party,  
San Francisco, Calif.  
1937  
Doubtful

Christian Democrats,  
Dallas, Tex.  
1935  
Defunct (1937)

Christian Front,  
New York City  
1938  
Active

Christian Mobilizers,  
New York City  
1939  
Active

Christian Protective League,  
Mobile, Ala.  
1938  
Doubtful

Christian Vigilantes,  
Minneapolis, Minn.  
1935  
Defunct (1936)

Circolo Mario Morgantini,  
New York City  
1938  
Active

Citizens Protective League,  
New York City  
1937  
Active

Civil Intelligence Bureau,  
Shavertown, Pa.  
Active

Civilian Army of American Bluecoats,  
Inc.,  
Los Angeles, Calif.  
1936  
Doubtful

Committee of One Million,  
New York City  
1937  
Active

Common Cause League,  
New York City  
1938  
Active

Constitutional Legion of America,  
Los Angeles, Calif.  
1935  
Defunct (1936)

Crusader White Shirts (after 1936, Crusaders for Economic Liberty),  
Chattanooga, Tenn.  
1933  
Active

Defenders of the Christian Faith,  
Wichita, Kans.  
1933  
Active

Deutsche-Americanischer Heimat-  
auschuss,  
1938  
Active

Deutscher Konsum Verband,  
New York City  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
Chicago, Ill.  
1935  
Active

Edmondson Economic Service,  
New York City  
1934  
Active

Father Duffy's Cadets,  
New York City  
1939  
Active

Friends and Neighbors, Inc.,  
Toledo, O.  
1938  
Active

Friends of Germany,  
New York City  
1933  
Defunct (1934)

Gentile Improvement Association,  
Terre Haute, Ind.  
1939  
Active

Gentile Workers Party of America,  
Chicago, Ill.  
1939  
Active

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

Grand Lodge of the Mystic Legion,  
Houston, Tex.  
1935  
Doubtful

The Homesteaders,  
Fresno, Calif.  
1933  
Defunct (1934)

Industrial Defense Association,  
Boston, Mass.  
1924  
Active

International Brotherhood, Inc.,  
Chicago, Ill.  
1939  
Active

International Committee to Combat  
the World Menace of Communism,  
New York City  
1934  
Active

International Legion Against  
Communism,  
New York City  
1937  
Active

James True Associates,  
Washington, D. C.  
1933  
Active

Knights of the White Camellia,  
Charleston, W. Va.  
1936  
Defunct (1936)

Knights Vigilante,  
Washington, D. C.  
1934  
Doubtful

Ku Klux Klan,  
Atlanta, Ga.  
1915  
Active

League of War Veterans' Guardsmen,  
Tacoma, Wash.  
1937  
Doubtful

League of Young Russia,  
New York City (the Bronx)  
1934  
Active

Loyal Aryan Christian Citizenship  
Organization of the United States,  
Pacific Coast  
1934  
Defunct (1936)

Militant Christian Association,  
Charleston, S. C.  
1936  
Defunct (1936)

Militant Christian Patriots,  
Glendale, Calif.  
1936  
Active

The Musketeers,  
San Francisco, Calif.  
1937  
Active

National Blue Shirts of America,  
Cumberland, Md.  
1938  
Active

National Christian Patriots,  
Los Angeles, Calif.  
1937  
Active

National Citizens League of America,  
Miami, Fla.  
1937  
Defunct (1937)

National Defenders of '76,  
New York City  
1937  
Defunct (1938)

National Gentile League,  
Washington, D. C.  
1936  
Active

National Liberty Party,  
Tacoma, Wash.  
1938  
Active

National Protective Order of Gentiles,  
Los Angeles, Calif.  
1937  
Defunct (1938)

National Socialist Workers Party  
of America,  
New York City  
1935  
Defunct (1936)

## THE OPERATIONS OF 121 ORGANIZATIONS

National Union for Social Justice,  
Royal Oak, Mich.  
1934  
Active

Order of '76  
New York City  
1933  
Defunct (1937)

Pan-Aryan Alliance,  
New York City  
1935  
Doubtful

Patriot Guard of America, Inc.  
Washington, D. C.  
1937  
Active

Patriotic Research Bureau,  
Chicago, Ill.  
1938  
Active

Prayer League of America,  
Chicago, Ill.  
1939  
Active

Pro-Christian American Society,  
Minnesota (state)  
1936  
Doubtful

Protective League of America,  
Milwaukee, Wis.  
1938  
Doubtful

Protestant Voters League,  
Terre Haute, Ind.  
1938  
Active

Protestant War Veterans Association,  
Kansas City, Mo.  
1938  
Active

Russian National Revolutionary  
Party (White Guard Russians),  
Putnam, Conn.  
1935  
Active

Secret Fifty-Three,  
San Antonio, Tex.  
1934  
Doubtful

Silver Shirts,  
Asheville, N. C.  
1933  
Active

Sons of the South,  
Cleveland, O.; Detroit, Mich.  
1938  
Active

The Tomahawks,  
Walla Walla, Wash.  
1937  
Active

Uncle Sam's Club,  
Bismarck, N. Dak.  
1938  
Active

United American Patriots,  
Terre Haute, Ind.  
1937  
Doubtful

United Guards of America,  
Baltimore, Md.  
1934  
Defunct (1935)

White Band, Inc.,  
Atlanta, Ga.  
1927  
Active

The White Front,  
Coral Gables, Fla.  
1939  
Active

White Shirts,  
Virginia, Minn.  
1938  
Active

World Alliance Against Jewish  
Aggressiveness,  
New York City  
1934  
Active

World War Gratuities Bureau,  
Chicago, Ill.  
1935  
Active

The preceding data provide the basis for certain observations on the regions in which most of anti-semitic groups have their headquarters

ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

and on the years in which these groups came into existence. The number of groups in any region is meaningful only in comparison to the population of that region. Table 7 makes this comparison in terms of percentages to the total number of groups and to the total population of the country.

Table 7

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ANTI-SEMITIC ORGANIZATIONS

Region (U. S. Census)	Number of Organizations	Percent of Total Organizations	Percent of Total U. S. Population
New England..... (Mass., Conn., R. I., N. H., Vt., Me.)	4	3.4	6.7
Middle Atlantic..... (N. Y., N. J., Pa.)	35	29.	21.4
East North Central..... (Ohio, Ind., Ill., Mich., Wis.)	26	21.8	20.6
West North Central..... (Minn., Iowa, Mo., Neh., N. Dak., S. Dak., Kans.)	9	7.6	10.8
South Atlantic..... (Del., Md., D. C., W. Va., N. C., S. C., Ga., Fla., Va.)	19	16.	12.9
East South Central..... (Ky., Tenn., Ala., Miss.)	2	1.6	8.1
West South Central..... (Ark., La., Okla., Tex.)	4	3.4	9.9
Mountain..... (Mont., Wyo., Utah, Idaho, Nev., Colo., Ariz., N. Mex.)	0	0	3.0
Pacific Coast..... (Calif., Oreg., Wash.)	20	16.8	6.7

The two regions that, in proportion to population, have the greatest number of anti-semitic organizations are the Middle Atlantic States and the Pacific Coast. The former has only 21.4 percent of the total population of the country, but 29 percent of the organizations; the latter has only 6.7 percent of the population, but 16.8 percent of the organizations.

Equally interesting is the data for the South. By totaling the percentages for the South Atlantic, West South Central, and the East South Central regions, one finds that these regions represent 30.9 percent of the nation's population and 21 percent of the anti-semitic groups. The percent of the population, however, must be corrected to exclude that of the Negro in order to make any inferences from the comparison valid. In that event, the comparison reads 22.5 percent of the total population to 21 percent of the total groups and so suggests that

THE OPERATIONS OF 121 ORGANIZATIONS

the South, the stronghold of the Ku Klux Klan, does not have a disproportionate number of anti-semitic groups.

Table 8 gives the geographical distribution of anti-semitic groups according to the cities in which they have their headquarters. The largest cities in the country have correspondingly the largest number of such headquarters. New York has 26; Chicago has 18.

Table 8

CITIES IN WHICH 118 ANTI-SEMITIC ORGANIZATIONS HAVE THEIR HEADQUARTERS

Asheville, N. C.....	1	Minneapolis, Minn.....	1
Atlanta, Ga.....	3	Mobile, Ala.....	1
Baltimore, Md.....	1	New Orleans, La.....	1
Beverly Hills, Calif.....	1	New York, N. Y.....	26
Bismarck, N. Dak.....	1	Omaha, Nehr.....	1
Boston, Mass.....	1	Pacific Coast <sup>1</sup> .....	3
Charleston, S. C.....	1	Pasadena, Calif.....	1
Charleston, W. Va.....	1	Philadelphia, Pa.....	2
Chattanooga, Tenn.....	1	Portland, Oreg.....	1
Chicago, Illinois.....	18	Putnam, Conn.....	1
Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	Royal Oak, Mich.....	1
Coral Gables, Fla.....	2	St. Albans, W. Va.....	2
Cumberland, Md.....	1	St. Louis, Mo.....	1
Dallas, Tex.....	1	San Antonio, Tex.....	1
Detroit, Mich.....	1	San Francisco, Calif.....	2
Fresno, Calif.....	1	Sharon, Pa.....	1
Glendale, Calif.....	1	Shavertown, Pa.....	1
Greenwich, Conn.....	1	Tacoma, Wash.....	2
Highland-on-Hudson, N. Y.....	1	Terre Haute, Ind.....	6
Houston, Tex.....	1	Toledo, Ohio.....	1
Kansas City, Mo.....	2	Virginia, Minn.....	1
Los Angeles, Calif.....	7	Walla Walla, Wash.....	1
Miami, Fla.....	1	Washington, D. C.....	6
Milwaukee, Wis.....	1	Waukegan, Ill.....	1
		Wichita, Kans.....	1
		Total.....	118

<sup>1</sup> Although these three organizations operate solely on the Pacific Coast, their exact headquarters are unknown.

Since the approximate founding years for 119 of the 121 anti-semitic organizations are known, a chronological distribution is made in order to reveal any significant groupings. The results are shown in Table 9.

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

*Table 9*

### CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF 119 ANTI-SEMITIC ORGANIZATIONS

<i>Year of Founding</i>	<i>Number of Groups</i>
1915.....	1
1924.....	1
1927.....	1
1931.....	1
1932.....	1
1933.....	9
1934.....	19
1935.....	13
1936.....	18
1937.....	22
1938.....	24
1939.....	9
Total.....	119

Apparently almost all the organizations were formed since 1933. The obvious deduction which follows is that the Nazis' rise to power in Germany in 1933 and the long, severe economic depression of the 1930's in the United States violently spurred the formation of anti-semitic groups. Save for minor American twists, the ideology of these groups is identical with that of the Nazis. Since 1933 the annual number of new groups has, by and large, increased. This significant fact should be noted in any attempt to predict the future of the anti-semitic movement in America, for it suggests that an intransient anti-semitic ideology has taken root.

Although the general trend of the anti-semitic movement in the United States has been upward, severe fluctuations have occurred frequently. Ordinarily, a graphic presentation showing trends of membership enrollments and sales of literature would provide a barometer of fluctuations; but complete statistical information unfortunately is unavailable. Consequently, the curve of the anti-semitic movement can only be drawn verbally. The curve rockets from virtually zero in early 1933 to a high point in the summer of 1934. Falling steadily until the autumn of 1935, it rises again, reaching, just before the 1936 presidential election, almost the level of its highest point. After the election the curve descends abruptly and only in late spring of 1937 does it slowly begin to ascend again. In the autumn of 1938 its ascent increases in rapidity and by 1940 it is above the high level of 1934. The rapid rise in 1933 and 1934 is to a large extent a result of the increased organizing activities of the German-American Bund and the Silver Shirts. The valley between the summer of 1934 and the autumn

## THE OPERATIONS OF 121 ORGANIZATIONS

of 1935 represents an aftermath of the McCormack Committee hearings, which gave unfavorable publicity to the Bund and the Silver Shirts and temporarily discredited the entire anti-semitic movement. From the autumn of 1935 until the 1936 election, most of the anti-semitic groups campaigned actively with the anti-New Deal forces. They presented the New Deal as a part of the "Jewish-revolutionary" conspiracy and worked themselves into a high pitch of activity. After the New Deal's victory at the polls, their activity decreased very pronouncedly. Many groups permanently suspended operations, others did so temporarily. For three months virtually no activity was evident. Then came the proposal to enlarge the Supreme Court and the wave of strikes in 1937—events that increased the insecurity of the middle classes and made them again receptive to anti-semitic propaganda. The business recession of late 1937 and of 1938 further revitalized the Pelleys and the Winrods. In the autumn of 1938, after Father Coughlin adopted anti-semitism, he quickly proselyted a very large Catholic group to his new creed. The anti-semitic movement soon exceeded all previous proportions.

## CHAPTER XIV

### Propaganda Techniques

THE propaganda of the anti-semitic movement will be treated here as a whole, paying particular attention to four aspects: the channels of distribution, the philosophy, the ultimate goal, and the types of psychological appeal.

The major channels are the newspaper, magazine, pamphlet, leaflet, newsletter, book, radio, and the public meeting. The distinction between the newsletter and the leaflet requires explanation: although both sometimes resemble each other in general appearance, the former usually appears regularly while the latter is quite irregular.

The channel most frequently employed is the pamphlet. Almost all anti-semitic groups have issued one or more pamphlets. For the smaller organizations—particularly the Industrial Defense Association, the American Christian Defenders, the Order of '76, and The Paul Reveres—it is the most important channel. Next in importance are the magazine and the newsletter. Two of the magazines in the field—Winrod's *Defender* and Pelley's *Liberation* (known for a time as *Pelley's Weekly*)—have had large circulations and have been in almost continuous existence for five years or more. Edmondson's reports, James True's *Industrial Control Report*, and Harry Jung's *Items of Interest* and *Vigilante* exemplify the newsletter. Winrod's letters to his "Inner Circle" perhaps fall into this category; they have appeared on an average of about once a month. Pelley once attempted to establish a newsletter service but failed.

Four groups have used newspapers with varying success.

The German-American Bund: *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* and its predecessors.

The National Union for Social Justice (the Christian Front): *Social Justice*.

The Silver Shirts: *The Silver Ranger*.

The Defenders of the Christian Faith: *The Revealer*

Six groups have turned the public meeting to useful account. For the Bund, the Christian Front, and the Silver Shirts it has been of considerable importance. The American Vigilant Intelligence Federation and The Paul Reveres have held meetings occasionally. An interesting variation of the public meeting has been Winrod's Bible con-

## PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES

ference. As used by Father Cougblin, the radio has reached a larger public than any other channel.

Table 10

CHANNELS OF PROPAGANDA USED BY ANTI-SEMITIC ORGANIZATIONS

Organization	Paper	Magazine	Pamphlet	Leaflet	Newsletter	Public Meeting	Book	Radio	Total
German-American Bund.....	x		x			x	x	x	5
Silver Shirts.....	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	6
Defenders of the Christian Faith	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	8
Edmondson Economic Service..			x		x				2
American Vigilant Intelligence Federation.....			x		x	x			4
Industrial Defense Association..			x	x					2
James True Associates.....			x		x				2
American Christian Defenders..			x	x			x		3
Order of '76.....			x	x					2
The Paul Reveres.....			x	x		x			3
National Union for Social Justice (Christian Front).....	x		x			x	x	x	5

Since anti-semitic groups lack a clear-cut, unified philosophy, it is necessary to use a "piecing together" technique in order to present the ideas embodied in their propaganda as a systematized whole. Fundamental is the idea of a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world. "Conspiracy" is the key word. Merely to assert that the number of Jewish lawyers in Chicago or of Jewish civil servants in Washington is far in excess of the proportion of Jews to the total population does not imply "conspiracy"; but to interpret such facts as part of a Machiavellian plan to gain control of the United States is definitely an expression of the idea. The original source of this concept is that notorious forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, sometimes known as *The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion*, first widely circulated by the Russian secret police during the pogroms that followed the Revolution of 1905.<sup>1</sup> This pamphlet, bruted about as a set of agreements drawn up by leading Jews at a secret meeting held about 60 years ago, contains a detailed plan whereby Jews will undermine and destroy Gentile civilization in order to achieve mastery of the world. Although new pamphlets revealing certain contemporaneous events as part of the Jewish conspiracy are continually published, the *Protocols* have remained the basic required reading matter for all anti-semites.

Using the *Protocols* as their starting point, the leaders of the anti-semitic organizations studied usually set forth the following intriguing series of allegations!

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

Communism is world Jewry in action. Communism is the Jews' weapon for obtaining world domination. The Soviet regime is a Jewish regime, for nine-tenths of the key governmental positions are held by Jews. The original plotters of the Russian Revolution were Jewish intellectuals. Russia represents the model of what the Jews hope to do to all countries and that is why they lead the Communist parties in capitalistic countries. But here in these countries the Jews' control is only slightly less absolute. England is under the heel of the Jewish money power. Republican Germany and France were run by the Jews to suit their pleasure. Had not Hitler come to the rescue and torn the burning fuse from the bomb, the explosion would have occurred and Communism would have been established. The United States under the New Deal is Jew-controlled. Roosevelt is a mere "front," a puppet controlled by such Jews as Felix Frankfurter, Bernard Baruch, and Justice Louis Brandeis. The Jewish Brain Trust really runs the country. Roosevelt himself is of Jewish extraction. He comes from Dutch Jews who originally bore the name "Rosenfeld."

All international hankers are Jews. They are so powerful that they can cause depressions at will. Moreover, they work hand in hand with the Communists. For instance, Jacob Schiff, the American Jew hanker, gave Lenin and Trotsky \$1,000,000 with which to finance the Russian Revolution. Once the Jewish hankers have caused depressions, the time is ripe for other Jews to circulate strange new theories to confuse and bewilder the people and turn class against class. Thus can the people be eventually persuaded to accept Communism. Frequently the persons who spread these false theories are not themselves Jews but Gentile fronts whom the Jews have duped and whom they use for their own advancement. The Jews, as in every country, have a complete control of the press. They can suppress all news unfavorable to themselves and lull the people into a false sense of security up to the very morning of the Red revolution. Patriotic Christians who see through the plot and want to expose it must establish their own periodicals to counteract the fallacies found in the Jewish dailies.

Jewish craft knows no bounds. One of the most insidious features of the Jewish plot is the corruption of the Gentiles' morals. Gentile youth in particular is to be perverted by early immorality and the use of liquor. Its moral fibre weakened by early sin, this generation will fall easy prey to the Red-Jewish conquerors. The Jews carry out this purpose through their control of the vice, liquor, and dope traffic. They fill art, drama, and the motion picture with sex. Jews absolutely run the motion picture industry and the theatre, and the filthy, sexy output of these two is just part of the plot. Lewd literature and hooks on birth control that explain to young people how to "get by" can also be traced to the Jews. Soviet Russia is proof of all this. In that Jewish-Communist state the family has been abolished, women have been nationalized and made the common property of all men, and abortion is legal.

The Jews hoost internationalism and pacifism in order to destroy patriotism and preparedness in all countries except Russia. The disarmed countries will then fall easy prey to the Communist revolu-

## PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES

tionaries at home and the Soviet armies from abroad. Because it is already far advanced, the plot is particularly menacing. Jewish Reds and their Gentile stooges have wormed their way into many American institutions. Red dupes have captured numerous churches and universities. The Federal Council of Churches is definitely Red; revolutionaries hold important positions in the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. The Reds even have their own legal aid organization, the American Civil Liberties Union, whose Jewish lawyers get Communists out of jail when patriots try to convict them. Careful watch must be kept over people who call themselves liberals, for a liberal is really a Communist in disguise. The foreign-born and the Negroes will also hear close watching—the foreign-born because they undoubtedly have brought some revolutionary and un-American ideas with them to this country and the Negroes because the Communists plan to use them as the shock troops of the revolution. The Communists have penetrated labor unions. The C.I.O. is thoroughly Communist; it is one of the outstanding successes of the Reds.

Each anti-semitic leader varies the preceding theme, adding his favorite trills and arpeggios. For instance, Winrod, a Fundamentalist above all else, sees the Jews as the inventors of Modernism and the doctrine of evolution—as the disseminators of these ideas for the sole purpose of undermining the faith of our fathers and preparing the way for Communism.

Anti-semitic propaganda is far more concerned with so-called facts than with demands for action. A meticulous examination of such propaganda uncovers only a melange of calls to militancy. Moreover, such demands as are made are, by and large, of an immediate nature. The anti-semitic movement has no explicit long-term program; it concerns itself primarily with propagandizing against the so-called menace of Jewish Communism.

There follow a number of somewhat specific demands:

No official recognition must be given the criminal nation of Soviet Russia.<sup>3</sup>

One of the most dangerous radicals in American public life today is the Jew, Louis Brandeis, of the United States Supreme Court. Mobilized Christian sentiment should drive him from the bench as quickly as possible.<sup>4</sup>

Buy Gentile! Vote Gentile! <sup>4</sup>

Let the various states put on their statute books acts requiring every educator to take an oath of loyalty to the Republic, its Constitution, and the Flag.<sup>5</sup>

Urge your congressional representatives to oppose all anti-gun and registration legislation.

We propose to impose racial quotas on the political and economic structure . . . that no racial factions shall be allowed further expectancy of public or professional office in excess of the ratio of its blood members to the remaining total of all races. . . .

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

Why shouldn't New York's Gentile majority, defending itself against the Jewish Anti-American subversions herein recited, disfranchise Jewish voters, put them in the class of wards of the nation and segregate Jews as in the case of our Indians?

Cloudy imperatives such as these are apt to be a bit bewildering:

We must sweep out our half-haked radical theorists with whom we have been tolerant too long. We must prevent the approaching Jewish domination and insure Anglo-Saxon supremacy that is free from international control. . .

We must drive from control those organized minorities who are conspiring to overthrow the Republic and the Constitution of the United States of America.<sup>6</sup>

This nation, forthwith, must be purged of its scoundrels.<sup>7</sup>

"Intermediate" demands sometimes specify actions but obscure the recipients of the actions; "Let us deport the radical aliens for whom Madam Perkins . . . has such a fond regard"<sup>8</sup> and "Scoop out the Reds from our United States Senate."<sup>9</sup>

Few of the anti-semitic groups have a long-term program; certainly the groups as a whole do not have a clearly defined goal. They are opposed to an alleged Jewish Communist conspiracy, but precisely what they are working for is obscure. Is the objective Fascism? Three considerations are relevant to an answer for this question.

First, several anti-semitic groups are thoroughly in sympathy with European Fascist dictators. Secondly, in some instances these groups have expressed contempt for democracy, implying that democracy does not really exist in the United States. Finally, William Dudley Pelley, chief of the Silver Shirts, has admitted that his group is Fascist, and his goal, Fascism. Other anti-semitic leaders, however, have guardedly commented on the need for Fascism.

Four leaders have expressed their sympathy for German Fascism. James True has stated that "Germany has proved that its Nazi dictatorship, although repugnant to the Republic of the United States, is honest and national and vastly superior to the Jew-controlled Roosevelt new deal."<sup>10</sup> Robert Edmondson said in an interview with the Reverend L. M. Birkhead: "I believe in the Republican form of government. Of course, I am sensible of the great service that Hitler has rendered to Germany . . . I do not agree with all of the methods that Hitler has used. But you must remember that he had a vicious and unscrupulous foe to fight." Gerald Winrod also told the same clergyman that "I do not approve of everything that Hitler has done . . . but you'll have to admit that Hitler saved Germany from Jewish Communism." Moreover, Winrod in his newspaper dismissed the Nazis' anti-semitic policy in the following manner. "Inasmuch as a great many of the leaders

## PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES

and their followers were of the Jewish race, these Communistic Jews, or Jewish Communists, had to be dealt with in a fashion that was not to their liking. Jewry all over the world immediately swooped down on Germany by perverting the facts into an attack on the Jews . . ." <sup>11</sup> The article continued with an account of how Hitler had purged Germany of nudism, obscene literature, and homosexuality.

Pelley, in keeping with his frank acceptance of Fascism for the United States, has been the most enthusiastic admirer of Hitler. In his official publication *Liberation*, he wrote: "No one who possesses ten cents worth of second hand brains now argues the question as to whether or not Adolf Hitler is the greatest personality in Europe . . . a great leader of the Gentiles has stopped the rapacious advance of predatory Judah in Europe . . . Hitler is the Man who 'led off' on the great insurrection against Jewish ascendancy in Europe."<sup>12</sup> In other issues of *Liberation*, recent American visitors to Germany have lauded Hitler's regime. One such panegyric is entitled "Germany, Jew-Purged, Becomes Ideal Country." Other articles in *Liberation* have given warm approval to the program of the Canadian Union of Fascists.

Father Coughlin has compared the democracies unfavorably with the Fascist dictatorships, indicating that the latter had "cured depression and stopped Communism."<sup>13</sup> He has even suggested that America ought to appeal for missionaries from those whom he termed "Christian dictators in other lands".

Anti-semitic groups have at times condemned the democratic process in the United States. Here again Pelley is the most outspoken: "The Jewish Reds uniformly wail thus loudly for the 'preservation of democracy' through congressional rule, because they know they can control such a congress in their own interests . . ." <sup>14</sup> On another occasion he wrote: "Today throughout the country we hear an unholy screech about the 'destruction of democracy' . . . Of course, it is not democracy but mob rule by Jewish representation, deceit, bamboozlement and camouflage."<sup>15</sup> The newspaper of the German-American Bund has questioned whether democracy actually exists in the United States:

We hear it claimed that the Reichstag blindly approves what Hitler proposes. Since the President has a rubber-stamp Congress, democracy becomes a conception pretty much academic. One fails to be appalled by the gulch supposed to yawn between the German system of cabinet government and the White House system of dictatorship. The distinction shows an ever diminishing rate of disparity.<sup>16</sup>

Sometimes anti-semitic leaders have denied that the American form of government is a democracy. They assert that it is a "republic". This distinction has been made by both Edmondson and Pelley:

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

The system of government in the United States is that of a REPUBLIC—not a Democracy, as the Communist Jews try to propagandize.<sup>17</sup>

The Silver Shirts will attempt to restore the American Form of government, but it won't be a democracy—it will be Republicanism. That this nation is a Democracy, or has ever been a Democracy, is mere hlaterskite smokescreen. The Silver Shirts will attempt to restore a Constitutional Republic. . . .<sup>18</sup>

Father Coughlin has been more flowery in his scorn for democracy:

Democracy! More honored in the breach than in the observance.

Democracy! A mockery that mouths the word and obstructs every effort on the part of honest people to establish a government for the welfare of the people.

Democracy! A cloak under which hide the culprits who have huilt up an inorganic tumor of government which is sapping away the wealth of the citizens through confiscatory taxation.<sup>19</sup>

Fascism as the solution to the evils besetting the country—and, consequently, as the goal of the anti-semitic movement—verges on the inevitable, according to one of Edmondson's newsletters:

. . . prompt and broad education is the only way to action and results. Small, compact, militant political groups have achieved emancipation in Germany, Italy, and Roumania. It can also be done in America. "Let the people know the truth—and the country is safe."

Unless Saving Leadership is welcomed, Civil War and Fascistic Dictatorship may be inevitable.<sup>20</sup>

The Silver Shirts have gone farther than Edmondson, although they have at times shied from the label of "Fascist". Immediately after Roosevelt's reelection in 1936, Pelley wrote:

"Fascism," if you please, will now make its appearance openly in the United States as a result of what the Ash-Kanazi Tammanyites wrought technically throughout the nation on the past November 3d! . . . .

Is it not unthinkable that the rest of the earth should arise and put down Jew-Communist "Democracy" and America remain the only country wherein it survives. . . .

America must join the trend toward Fascism as a matter of world momentum. . . .<sup>21</sup>

In another issue of his paper Pelley expressed the same point of view:

It is not a question as to whether or not the United States *wants* to go in for Fascism, the question will be, if she doesn't go in for Fascism, she must openly espouse and shed her blood for Bolshevism. . . .

It is something to prepare for, *the certainty of Fascism in the United States, if for no other reason than world inertia!*

We are moving toward Fascism in Seven League Boots! <sup>22</sup>

## PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES

Pelley's attitude toward detractors who dub him "Fascist" has been the indignant, ambiguous "call me Fascist if you like."

So when Christian preachers write the Chief of the Silver Shirts as to how far he endorses or approximates Fascism, his answer is blunt—

He doesn't give the kippered tail of a *gueltefische* what sort of wordy smokescreen the despoilers of America apply to their opponents! This nation, forthwith, must be purged of its scoundrels.

If the scoundrels say that men who love their homes and traditions, who want to see their country grow and prosper, cannot oppose them without having the tag of some foreign governmental system slapped upon their efforts—all of it is twaddle in the necessity for the effort.

The Reds and the Jews—can call the Christian Silver Shirts Fascists, Nazis, Esquimau, or Hottentots—or plain angry Americans battling for their firesides.<sup>23</sup>

In other issues of his magazine Pelley has stated:

The man who can make himself heard above the angered roar of that vast drove of sterling Americans in that hour and who has the Plan and the spine to take hold of an utterly hankrupted, looted, and stricken concern that is the United States as a nation, will be the Boss and fulfill his destined place in history—call his regime Fascism, Naziism, Constitutional Protectorate, Organization for the Relief of One-Armed Bill Posters. . . .<sup>24</sup>

Whoever says I am scheming to alter the American form of government—to Fascism, Naziism, or any other form of "ism" is a Strategizing Prevaricator working secretly for Communism or Communistic Jews.<sup>25</sup>

Pelley's altercations over the epithet "Fascist" appears to be a tempest in a teapot. More important are his methods for liberating America. On a number of occasions he has frankly acknowledged the necessity for violence. His references to this necessity began shortly after Hitler came to power in 1933:

America may undergo a brief bath of violence. . . . But it will be the same cleansing bath that awakened Italy, that awakened Hungary, that awakened Spain, that awakened Germany. It will awaken thousands of Americans to a realization of the menace.<sup>26</sup>

For several years thereafter Pelley kept quiet on the matter of violence. After the Presidential election of 1936, however, he became quite loquacious:

Let us understand thoroughly that if a second civil war comes to this country, it will not be a war to overthrow the American government, but to overthrow the Jew-Communist usurpers who have seized the American government and bethought themselves to make it a branch office of Moscow. . . .<sup>27</sup>



## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

Bolshevism has eventually lost in every country where it has been attempted. It will eventually lose out in the United States, but frankly I should add, *not before the undisciplined American has run riot in mob spirit and slaughtered Jews wholesale in history's greatest pogrom.*<sup>28</sup>

In the spring of 1938, Pelley's magazine reprinted part of an anti-New Deal editorial that had appeared in the *Deutsche Allsmeine* (a newspaper published in Germany), and voiced the "hope that the American house will soon be put in order." Pelley then commented:

. . . the editor [of the German newspaper] added this final dry remark, which carries significance to those versed in the fundamentals of the political and economic situation of the United States: "*What means are employed is not our affair.*" And we take the liberty—and pleasure—of supplying the emphasis.<sup>29</sup>

In June of the same year Pelley stressed the country's need for a dictator:

Now, if ever, the Sons of Jacob must take a last desperate gamble and find out if they can actually seize the government of the country before the vigilante storm breaks and a major part of the 7,000,000 Yiddishers who have managed to get into this country over the past ten years are slated for deportation—or worse. . . .<sup>30</sup>

Sooner or later, when the country is quivering and absolutely supine, a strong leader must arise who shovels out the burglars by strong-arm expedients.

If such a leader does not arise, if he does not succeed in putting the Jewish Reds in their places, the nation . . . is to be known as the United States of Soviet America.

To oppose such a colossal sabotage, to make such shoveling effective, to reestablish orderly government and industrial prosperity, civic aphorisms are but silly. Someone must *do* the job and talk the ethics of it afterward.

The Jewish Red beclouds the issue—purposely—by screaming that this is Fascism.<sup>31</sup>

William Zachery, "Field Marshal" of the Silver Shirts, has been as unequivocal in his advocacy of violence as his chief. Addressing a group in Chicago, he said:

We will stop Communism by force. It cannot be voted out. . . . Ballots are not now stopping Communism in Spain. And ballots will not stop Communism in America. I want all of you to go out and get your silver shirts as quickly as possible. I want all of you to go out and get guns, and I want each of you to get plenty of ammunition. . . .

So I warn you again to get your shirts quickly, and arm yourselves with guns and ammunition.

## PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES

Not only has Pelley accepted the necessity of violence, but, hewing close to the historical pattern of Hitlerism, he has asserted that the big industrialists must finance American Fascism:

The thing resolves itself down to this hardheaded equation: *What leadership is going to do the same thing for these United States that has been realized by the industrialists of Germany, and how is that leadership going to capture and hold the sponsorship attention of the only caste in the American scene that can raise it to power at the Functioning Top: the sizable industrial elements that still possess the affluence to make such leadership effective.*<sup>32</sup>

According to Pelley, American Fascism would reward the industrialists for their support as its German prototype did:

"There is no such thing as any C.I.O. in the German steel industry. All that voracious Red nonsense has been squelched to stay squelched."<sup>33</sup>

He then referred to himself as "the likeliest candidate for a similar induction of affairs in the United States." In another issue of his magazine, Pelley described the Hitler-like fate awaiting his political enemies.

More than all else, a Silvershirt Regime—call it Fascist, Nazi, Populist, or Mugwump—will make rigorously certain that alien despoilers are forthwith defranchised, their leaders lodged in Federal penitentiaries, and the scum of their evil reasoning scoured from screen and press.<sup>34</sup>

Silver Shirt leaders are not the only anti-semites who foresee incipient Fascist violence in the United States. James True has stated:

Urge your congressional representatives to oppose all anti-gun and registration legislation. Remember that the Constitution gives all United States citizens the right to bear arms, and unless all signs fail we shall need that right.<sup>35</sup>

After police had prevented Edmondson from addressing a meeting of the American Nationalist Party at Englewood, New Jersey, he wrote the following description of the crowd's reaction:

But the Vigilante Spirit which will save America was there. Milling around, muttering angrily, crowds of individual Americans from two states needed but a spark to explode in anti-alien patriotic wrath. Law and order prevailed but tension was taut!<sup>36</sup>

Father Coughlin has suggested the possible need of "the Franco way" and has enjoined his followers to "meet force with force as a last resort."<sup>37</sup> The leaders of groups making up the Christian Front echo Coughlin's words. Joseph McWilliams has stated that he would not stand for a situation "like the one in Spain before the Civil War. If we can find no other way, we may have to do it as Father Coughlin

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

suggested—under a Franco.”<sup>38</sup> Some of Coughlin’s organizers seem to relish the prospect of violence. George Van Nossdall, for instance, told a Christian Front meeting, “Boys, we are going to work. I am ready to line the God-damned Jews right up against the wall.”<sup>39</sup> At another meeting of the Front he shouted: “When we get through with the Jews in America they will think the treatment they received in Germany was nothing . . . Judaistic gore will soon flow in the streets of New York City.”<sup>40</sup> Edmond Westfall even instructed a Christian Front audience: “When you are in a crowd yell ‘Kill the Jew.’”<sup>41</sup>

The German-American Bund not only predicts bloodshed in America but urges its adherents to be ready to fight for Fascism. In a lecture to the *Ordnungs Dienst* of the Astoria, New York Bund local Herman Schwartzmann declared:

I tell you that exactly what happened in Germany some years ago is now happening in this country. The Jews are grabbing control of everything they can lay their sticky hands on. This is exactly what took place in Germany. Finally the people rose up in resentment. This will happen here—it is inevitable. When that day comes, and it probably is not far off, we must be prepared to fight for the right kind of government. We must win the masses, the good people to our side.

There will likely be bloodshed and fighting. We shall have to do our part.<sup>42</sup>

Such statements have been frequent according to a *Chicago Times* reporter who was for a time a Bund member: “Again and again at drill meetings and lecture sessions members are told they must be ready for ‘any emergency’. They must study and learn the duties of a *Fuehrer*, since all members of the presently composed compact group of O.D.’s expect to be *Fuehrers* in their own right “when the trouble comes”.<sup>43</sup> Fritz Kuhn himself told a United Press correspondent that “we are waiting for the communists to start something. It will come sooner than you think. Then we will step in and stop them.”<sup>44</sup>

In summary, only the Silver Shirts are openly working towards the establishment of Fascism in America. Occasionally other groups comment approvingly on Fascist methods and principles. On the whole, however, the implicit, ultimate goal of the anti-semitic movement does not appear to be Fascism—as yet.

### TYPES OF PSYCHOLOGICAL APPEALS

Successful propaganda is based on the astute handling of emotions of aggressiveness, guilt, weakness, and affection.<sup>45</sup> Before the effectiveness of anti-semitic propaganda can be determined, it is necessary to analyze the appeals made to these four emotions.

## PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES

The psychological problem involved in appealing to aggressiveness is that of releasing inhibitions placed on assertive impulses; the propaganda must present the enemy as so menacing and insolent that hating him wholeheartedly appears justifiable. The following subtitles and excerpts from anti-semitic literature are examples of how aggressiveness is provoked:

Minnesota Close to Red Abyss as Murder Terrorizes Voters.

Insolent Poetry Shows Jew Plot; Jews Gloat over Their Protocolian Schemes in Denmark.

Dictator for America Looms; Reds Concentrating Energies behind Pro-Jewish Despot.

A death list of the enemies of Jewish Bolshevism exists in the United States.

Over seven million Ashkenazic Jews have been inducted into this country in the past ten years.

The Jewish population in the United States is growing. . . . There is, therefore, every evidence to indicate . . . that the High Control of World Jewry has designated the United States in particular . . . as the next area to be brought into complete Jewish Bolshevik control.

Communism has been given the right of way by the administration. . . . Deportation of thousands of aliens, many of them criminals, has been prevented to increase the power of radical labor.

The C.I.O. has about completed the rebuilding of the old University Club here for its headquarters. . . . One who carefully inspected the job said that the partitions were lined with thick steel and furnished with bullet-proof glass one and one-half inches thick.

A Jewish Antichrist . . . presupposes an international system of Jewish government. There can be little doubt that such a system, based upon the Jewish Money Power, has already been created—and is ready to step out into the open and assume control of affairs as soon as the time is ripe.

By presenting an enemy as unscrupulous, defiant of sexual mores, and fiendishly cunning in plotting, anti-semitic propaganda may divert any emotional stress of guilt suffered by its readers.

“Lie and Live” is the accepted slogan of the Yiddishers.

The churches of America were recently compelled to boycott the flood of “indecent movies” . . . Jews dominate this industry.

Undoubtedly through political trading (with the New Deal administration of Arkansas) Commonwealth College, a training school for communist agitators, has been allowed to flourish at Mena, Arkansas, for a number of years . . . free love and promiscuity were practiced at the college, where an unspeakable condition existed.

Have not our readers noted that whenever there are any dope and white slave traffic rings uncovered, we always find the Jews the directing master minds behind the scenes?

Press report from Riverside, California: An astounding interracial community of sixty-five boys and girls from twelve to twenty years old, believed to be a Communist camp, was raided today by Sheriff

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

Carl F. Rayburn. The camp, assertedly for "underprivileged" children, was in charge of four negro men and a Russian Jewess, with another white woman living intimately with the negroes.

. . . a small group of men, all of them Jews, are deliberately and systematically forcing immoral songs, vicious movies, filthy musical comedies and indecent dancing upon the country, spending hundreds of thousands of dollars in the effort and reaping as their reward millions of dollars in profits.

The enemy, diabolical in its violation of the mores, is depicted craftily in *Liberation*. Discussing the widespread publicity given to the recent federal anti-syphilis campaign and to the Illinois law requiring Wassermann tests of all applicants for marriage licenses, the magazine concluded:

Judging from other Jewish New Deal governmental agencies set up, we know that the various administrative boards would be packed with Jews, all of which leads to the logical conclusion that this entire scheme is one leading up to the wholesale inoculation of Gentiles with vaccine syphilitic germs.<sup>46</sup>

Effective propaganda must counteract the individual's feeling of weakness. A simple method is to emphasize victories in order to make adherents feel part of a victorious army instead of a single weak individual. There is tonic for the ego in such statements:

Heavy Meetings in Washington State; Christian Party Work makes Big Headway.

Washington Goes into Action. Christian Party Covering State.

In all parts of the United States, the children of God are starting on the march, to the tune of "Onward Christian Soldiers."

Anti-semitic feeling runs higher in this nation than it has ever run. . . .

When immediate victories are few, anti-semitic propaganda asserts that ultimate victory is assured or that irresistible forces are working for ultimate victory:

Both the Bible and the Great Pyramid foretell that the United States is to be rescued from the hands of the alien.

. . . in obedience to Divine Prophecy bring the Christ Democracy into effect.

A clairvoyant child in Tennessee, who knows nothing of the Silver Shirts, has been insistent to her parents since 1934, that "Mr. Pelley follows Roosevelt!" and has given extraordinary apt details concerning a Red dictator who lasts a matter of days, in between the two men.

Conversely, the illusion of strength may be heightened by verbally reducing the enemy to a state of weakness, making him appear frightened and confused:

## PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES

B'nai B'rith Making Desperate Effort to Combat Pelley Men

The Jews have been hysterically expressing their fear that Pelley would obtain "ample financial backing" for the Silver Legion's program.

Is it not becoming increasingly clear that the Jews are in full retreat on all fronts?

Successful propaganda plays upon the emotion of affection by building up the concept of "The Leader". The method most frequently used is that of publicizing "The Leader" as completely unselfish—as a man who has abandoned personal gain and comfort to work for the salvation of his country. Qualms of modesty seem rare as evidenced by the fact that many leaders of anti-semitic groups do not hesitate to laud their own virtues. Edmondson, for instance, writes:

. . . my position, namely that of a \$50,000-a-year executive who has given up his regular business to unselfishly devote all his time, money, and ability to a crusade whose aim is the liberation of America from an alien politico-economic-publicity subversion. . . .

My documentary record of a desperate two-year selfless attempt to peacefully enlighten. . . . I will say to you that I consider any sacrifice justified to redeem Washington and Lincoln's Representative Government. . . .<sup>47</sup>

James True tells a similar story:

After the new deal got under way, the undersigned refused to join in the propaganda ballyhoo. Because he insisted on writing facts and pointing out economic fallacies, newspapers and business magazines refused to publish his articles for the first time in his life. Then, because he was convinced that the truth was indispensable to business interests, he began publication of the reports.

He was assured of adequate financial support for two years; but it did not materialize. About that time, although the writer did the work of several men, the venture was precarious and was continued as a patriotic duty. Then the writer sold his property at a great sacrifice, and invested the return in the publication and the subsequent meagre living of his family.<sup>48</sup>

Pelley is more laconic in presenting himself as worthy of admiration. He states that "Pelley can't be intimidated, he can't be bought . . ." <sup>49</sup>

Another psychological problem confronting anti-semitic propagandists arises from the fact that, indulging in unrestrained expressions of hatred for the Jews and revolutionaries, they occasionally make demands counter to the mores. In deference to their supporters' collective conscience, the propagandists must provide moral justifications for their hates and demands. The justification most often used is self-defense against the "Red-Jew menace". The Silver Shirts have adroitly embodied it in their demand that the Jews be "wholly disfranchised

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

and if necessary expropriated, that they may no longer work in our midst mischievously." Edmondson has used the same type of appeal:

In consideration of the foregoing for the "Safety of the State," why shouldn't New York's Gentile majority, defending itself against the Jewish Anti-American subversions herein recited, disfranchise Jewish voters, put them in the class of wards of the nation and segregate Jews as in the case of our Indians?

Father Coughlin has appreciated the problem of conscience. He handled it with great skill when he told his radio audience:

Nevertheless the Christian way is the peaceful way until—until—until all argument having failed, all civil authority having failed, there is left no other way but the way of defending ourselves against the invaders of our spiritual and national rights, the Franco way. And when your rights have been challenged, when all civil authority has succumbed before the invaders, then and only then may Christians meet force with force.

Pelley has frequently run into the problem of conscience in connection with his advocacy of an American Fascism. The appeal of self-defense again is his solution:

The cunning despoilers from overseas hethought them to commit the Greatest Crime in History. If men of principle rise up to halt them they are entirely within their rights. The Moral Law comes before academic blither. . . .

The Silver Shirts of America have a peculiar job to do. . . . But they refuse to be beguiled, and will not enter into academic hawls, as to whether names applied to them stack up with one-time American conditions. The United States is either going to be a happy, wholesome, prosperous nation for the people of Christian aspirations to live in, or it is crashing down presently beneath the heel of Jewish Bolshevism.

It never seems to dawn on the squeamishness of civic purists that the United States of America stands on the brink of losing its government, anyhow.

. . . the fact is lost sight of, that most of our liberties have been quashed and killed already.

In short, the "Red-Jew menace" is presented as so immediate and overwhelming that certain mores and inhibitions of conscience must be abandoned at once or the country will perish.

Anti-semitic leaders employ another method for buttressing their followers' conscience: they rally the ghosts of the great as supporters

## PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES

of anti-semitism. For instance, Pelley reprinted from the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* a list of fifty famous persons who, it was alleged, were Jew-baiters in their day.<sup>50</sup> The list included Cicero, Mohammed, Voltaire, Samuel Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Carlyle, Napoleon, Bismarck, and General Grant.

The most ingenious "conscience-bolsterer" is the resort to the supernatural—to a force that has already predestined victory for the anti-semitic movement. An issue of *Liberation* maintained that "both the Bible and the Great Pyramid foretell that the United States is to be rescued from the hands of the alien". Another issue states confidently that the Silver Shirts will "in obedience to Divine Prophecy bring the Christian Democracy into effect." Nothing could be more in accord with conscience than carrying out the will of the Almighty as expressed in prophecy.

Yet another question presents itself to the analyst of anti-semitic propaganda, viz., what are the most widely used "pro-self" and "anti-other" symbols? A "pro-self" symbol is the badge that members of any group adopt in order to differentiate themselves from the rest of the world. It is the name given to "our side." Such symbols are *American*, *Mason* and *Republican*. An "anti-other" symbol is the detractive designation given to all members of the enemy group. The question may be answered in three parts. First, the anti-other symbols vastly outnumber the pro-self symbols. Secondly, all anti-semitic groups have accepted two particular "anti-other" symbols. Thirdly, no "pro-self" symbol has been developed or has been accepted as the correct designation for the anti-semitic movement as a whole or for its philosophy.

An examination of any piece of anti-semitic literature will reveal that the "anti-other" symbols outnumber the "pro-self" symbols in a ratio of at least ten to one. The literature consists almost entirely of statements excoriating an approaching menace and rarely specifies how best to combat it; hence, the preponderant need for "anti-other" symbols that describe this menace. The two accepted anti-other symbols are *Jew* (*Jewish*) and *Communist* (*Communitic*, *Communism*). They are seldom used together in the form of *Communitic-Jew*, for they are considered synonymous. Some groups may use one symbol more frequently than the other; they may emphasize either the anti-revolutionary aspect, or the anti-semitic. On the whole, however, the symbol *Jew* and its derivatives appear more frequently. Additional "anti-other" symbols that are sometimes used include *Bolshevik*, (*ism*), *Red Jew*, *Red*, *liberal*, *alien Jewish*, *racial minority*, *Jewish-Bolshevist*, *Jewish minority*, *radical*, *alien*, *anti-Aryan*.

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

That no common "pro-self" symbol has developed is not surprising, for anti-semitic groups have been unsuccessful in their efforts to form a common front and their goal as well as the means to their goal are, as yet, obscure. Only the Silver Shirts have employed persistently and preponderantly a "pro-self" symbol—*Gentile*. Among the most over-worked pro-symbols are *Christian, patriot, American, Christian American, Christian patriotism, American (ism), non-Jew*. The first three symbols, used singly or in some combination, run second to *Gentile* in frequency. An examination of the names of the 121 anti-semitic organizations listed in the preceding chapter offers an effective way of determining the "pro-self" symbols and their numerical frequencies. The important results are given in the following table:

Table 11

### PRO-SELF SYMBOLS AND THEIR FREQUENCY IN THE NAMES OF ANTI-SEMITIC GROUPS

America (n).....	43	Fascist.....	2
Anti-Communist.....	5	Gentile.....	7
Aryan.....	4	Labor (Workers).....	4
Christian.....	16	National (ist).....	11
Constitution (al).....	2	National Socialist.....	2
Defenders (or Protectors).....	11	Patriots.....	7
Democracy (crats).....	2	Vigilantes.....	2

The above table significantly indicates that anti-semitic groups operate especially under national symbols. They consider themselves Americans, patriots, and nationalists; these three symbols total 61. Twenty-seven groups are Christian, Aryan, or Gentile. (Incidentally, Pelley favors *Gentile* rather than a national symbol because Jews are acknowledged as Americans.)

Moreover, 13 consider themselves defenders, protectors, or vigilantes guarding the nation from some menace. Foreign-sounding labels are avoided. The terms *Fascist* and *National Socialist* occur only twice.

An omnipotent compound pro-self symbol would be the "American Christian Defenders" (actually the name of one of the groups).

Before drawing final conclusions on the effectiveness of anti-semitic propaganda, three diverse aspects should be considered: attitudes toward Catholics, Negroes, and Japanese imperialism. Although the groups constituting the anti-semitic movement have some members who were formerly Klansmen, only one group—Winrod's Defenders of the Christian Faith—occasionally expresses hostility towards Catholics. All groups, however, appear to be passively anti-Negro. Winrod's anti-Catholicism, that of the Fundamentalist, is mild compared to his vigorous anti-semitism, as the following indicates:

## PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES

The rapidly developing cooperation of Catholics and Jews in gaining control of the American government was illustrated when Al Smith and Jim Farley (Catholics) united their efforts recently in supporting Governor Lehman (Jew) for reelection in New York. . . . All religious groups are organized *except* Protestant evangelical Christians—they have an inferiority complex.

It seems strangely paradoxical that the Roman Catholic Church should be leading the fight against the filthy Jewish motion picture industry. Rome has never been particularly famous for moral reform efforts. Prohibition has no greater foe than the Roman church.

Mr. Pius, of Vatican City, can simply never resist throwing slurs at Protestants. Speaking recently before the Catholic Press Exposition . . . he denounced Protestantism and referred to Catholicism as "the only guardian of true and genuine Christianity." In the same breath he voiced approval of Mussolini's Ethiopian massacre.

The final destruction of the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches in the end-time of this age is anticipated in Revelation 17:16.

Ironically, Winrod disseminates the same anti-semitic ideology as Father Coughlin, the Catholic priest. For a time, the Silver Shirts appeared to have excluded Catholics from membership. Chief Pelley, however, has specifically denied any anti-Catholicism and has boasted of a large Catholic following.<sup>51</sup> That his statements have some validity is suggested by material that appeared in his magazine.<sup>52</sup> One pertinent article, for example, recounts a speech given before a French Jewish society and notes that the speaker not only depicted the Catholic Church as the one obstacle to world domination by the Jews but emphasized the necessity for its speedy destruction.

Anti-semitic groups tacitly assume that their followers are "respectable people" who are anti-Negro. Usually, the anti-Negro attitude manifests itself in connection with certain anti-semitic propaganda, the object of which is to show, as further proof of infamy, that Jews and revolutionaries have been friendly to the Negro. James True has reported:

. . . a recent new deal conference, attended by large groups of negro editors and publishers. The negroes attended several peaceful meetings, received their instructions, were wined and dined by new deal officials, and left town with all expenses paid with taxpayers' money.<sup>53</sup>

At another time, True expressed his disgust at Mrs. Roosevelt's entertaining Negroes in the White House. Pelley has stated that Negro "Communist" C.I.O. organizers in the South have been anxious to overthrow "white supremacy."<sup>54</sup>

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

Harry Jung is the author of a pamphlet entitled *Communism and the Negro* (published by the Defenders of the Christian Faith). In it, he held that the Communists had already made great inroads among the Negroes and that their eventual purpose was to use them as the "shock troops of the revolution."

Anti-semitic groups have made many friendly references to Japan in connection with the undeclared Sino-Japanese war. Japan's assertion that she is fighting Communism seems to be enough to put these groups on her side. Edmondson has asserted that "Moscow Jewish Communism is behind China." In opposing the boycott on Japanese goods on the ground that "Japan is fighting Communism," James True has bemoaned the "diabolical unfairness of our press in handling news of the Sino-Japanese conflict," using this allegation as proof that American press is Jew-controlled. Pelley has on several occasions approvingly referred to Japan, but has usually referred to the Chinese as "Reds." On one occasion he asked:

Where have you seen in the Jew-kept press that when the Chinese Red aviators bombed the American Dollar Liner, *President Hoover*, that it was a Japanese warship that came to her rescue and saved the passengers not killed?

Since there are no generally accepted criteria for judging the effectiveness of propaganda, certain hypotheses may be laid down.<sup>55</sup> Skillful propaganda must take into consideration matters of both tactics and strategy. Detailed, short-term procedures are tactics; general, long-term orientations are strategies. Tactical skillfulness is shown in both distinctiveness and adaptiveness. Distinctiveness involves the selection of demands and a set of symbols differentiating the movement from its rivals. Adaptiveness involves choosing both established practices and symbols appropriate to the end in view. The particular practices employed must be acceptable to the particular section of the public to be reached. The symbols must be part of the average American's vocabulary and must play on his loves and hates. The principles of distinctiveness and adaptiveness may sometimes conflict. A too distinctive set of symbols might be so foreign to the attitudes of the average American that he would reject it; a too adaptable (or common) set would not stand out from its rivals. Consequently, a successful application of these conflicting principles must arrive at a golden mean.

According to the hypothesized criterion of distinctiveness, anti-semitic groups have shown a great degree of individuality. The host of words that anti-semitic groups employ as "pro-self" and "anti-other" symbols have already been listed on preceding pages. In addition to

## PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES

these words, the *Ordnungs Dienst* of the German-American Bund and, for a time, some Silver Shirt units, have used uniforms as symbols. Nevertheless the failure to adopt a clear, long-term program not only has prevented anti-semitic groups from achieving greater distinctiveness but has caused some of them to teeter on anonymity.

According to the hypothesized criterion of adaptiveness, the symbols and forms of propaganda selected by the anti-semitic groups have been fairly appropriate. Most groups have used symbols embodying traditional American nationalism and have publicized themselves as protecting America from scheming international plotters and as saving the American tradition from subversion by alien Jews. The one group whose sincerity in these directions appeared unconvincing is the Bund. Its affairs have too frequently emphasized Germany. Its symbols have not conformed with the American idiom. As a result, the Bund was early dubbed "alien" and has succeeded in attracting as members recent German immigrants only. More skillful propaganda would have put less emphasis on the swastika flag, the Hitler salute, the marching storm troops. These key symbols of the Bund are alien to the American tradition.

Anti-semitic propaganda has shown great adaptiveness and ingenuity in the way its appeals keep abreast with the changing focus of public attention. All current events are construed so that they appear as further proof of the Jewish-revolutionary conspiracy. For instance, the anti-syphilis campaign recently conducted by the United States Public Health Service was interpreted as a Jewish plot to infect the Gentile population with syphilis. And the eviction riots in the earlier stages of the depression and the rise of the Committee for Industrial Organization in 1936 and 1937 have been cited as positive indications of Jew-inspired revolt.

Adaptiveness has also been shown by the use of many channels of propaganda discussed in the first section of this chapter. Both Winrod and Pelley have utilized channels they had already established prior to espousing anti-semitism. Winrod adapted his magazine for Fundamentalists and his bible conferences, and Pelley adapted his magazine for spiritualists.

Despite the degree of skill shown in adaptation, anti-semitic propaganda has had one glaring technical weakness. The appeal has been to the general public, to an undifferentiated audience. Skillful propaganda singles out particular groups, appeals to them on the basis of their particular grievances, and tries to show that these grievances will be remedied by adherence to a cause.

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

Strategical skill may be judged according to the principles of combination and precaution. Combination involves two groupings that differ slightly with each other in principles and the successful effort of one to unite with the other or at least to cooperate with it. Accordingly, anti-semitic organizations would have been wise to cooperate with organizations that were merely anti-revolutionary. Cooperating with such organizations on the basis of common opposition to revolutionary ideology and tactful efforts to spread the idea that most revolutionaries are Jews might have been quite astute. Winrod's address before the Peabody Kansas American Legion Post and Hunter's addresses before Chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution are examples of the use of this technique. Nevertheless, it has not been fully exploited. The principle of precaution means that a proponent's propaganda must be of such a nature that it will not bring about an invincible combination of opponents. The anti-semitic movement as a whole has observed this principle, for it has not made the mistake of also being anti-Catholic. It might have fallen into this trap quite easily; in the past, anti-semitism and anti-Catholicism have been combined. Lack of precaution would, of course, have resulted in a union of America's two great religious minorities—the Jews and the Catholics. That this mistake has been avoided is indicated by the presence of Father Coughlin and his vast Catholic following in the anti-semitic movement.

In summary, anti-semitic groups have been only moderately skillful in their propaganda. They have selected fairly distinctive and idiomatic symbols and they have adapted their ideas fairly well to established practices. Their chief tactical blunder has been the unspecialized nature of their appeal. And as for strategical considerations of combination and precaution, they have been observed, though not so fully as they might have been.

---

## CHAPTER XV

---

### Conclusions

**C**ERTAIN conclusions dealing with leadership, membership, and funds of the anti-semitic movement can now be ventured.

#### LEADERSHIP

The leaders of the eleven groups examined most closely are for the most part middle-aged or old men. The exact ages of eight leaders are available: Gerald Winrod 43, Father Coughlin 50, William Pelley 56, James True 60, Edward Hunter 66, Robert Edmondson 69, Colonel Hadley 69, and Colonel Sanctuary 71.<sup>1</sup> As for G. Wilhelm Kunze, Harry Jung and Royal Scot Gulden, the first appears to be even younger than Winrod and the other two are certainly not less than fifty. Only three of the eleven leaders have a college education—Hadley, Sanctuary, and Coughlin. Seven possess one skill or more naturally fitting them for leadership of their organizations. True and Edmondson were formerly journalists; Pelley, a writer of novels, short stories, and scenarios; and Winrod, a writer of religious tracts. Jung and Hunter, through their experience in labor espionage, developed skill in secretly gathering information. Coughlin and Winrod became orators through preaching.

Only Hadley and Sanctuary are independently wealthy. Coughlin and Edmondson have sources of income apart from the finances of their organizations. Seven leaders depend upon their organizations for their bread and butter. Gulden is the only one about whom there is some uncertainty. He does not appear to have been wealthy, and yet his small organization could hardly yield much of a salary. Somewhat significant are Pelley's and Edmondson's assertions that they were \$50,000-a-year men at one time. Whether or not their assertions are accurate or even true, both have certainly suffered serious deprivations in recent years. The sharp reduction of their incomes has doubtlessly been an important factor in the shaping of their prejudices.

The fact that seven leaders have made their living from their organizations brings up the question of sincerity. General jealousy among leaders, unwillingness to fuse their organizations into one that might be effective, Hunter's and Pelley's competing efforts to solicit money

from German diplomats and consuls, Jung's payment of 40 per cent commission for all contributions collected and his employment of an ex-convict as a field representative—these and many other facts suggest that at least some of the leaders are insincere. The term "insincere" can certainly be applied to a leader who not only exploits his organization for personal gain but also does not believe in its anti-semitic propaganda. An hypothetical instance may make the definition clear. An unemployed person with experience in public relations notices that the businessmen of his city are greatly aroused over Communism. Though he does not believe that any Communist menace exists, he organizes the businessmen into a society to "fight Communism." By doing this he obtains a job and an income. Since Hadley and Sanctuary are independently wealthy, they cannot be described as interested in anti-semitism as a means of income. That Hunter has continued his anti-semitism even though it has alienated some of his wealthy supporters has demonstrated his sincerity; had he been as insincere as our hypothetical gentleman, he would have backtracked on his anti-semitism, promised to refrain from it in the future, and thereby continued to receive the support of his wealthy backers. Jung's sincerity in the role of a leader of an anti-semitic group (though perhaps not as a labor spy) is demonstrated by the way he was duped by Alfredo Caputo, an international crook. Caputo had spun a yarn about the world "Jewish-Communist" menace.<sup>2</sup> If Jung had not been impressed, he would not have paid Caputo's expenses in Chicago or his fare back to Europe. All things considered, though many anti-semitic leaders are insincere and are aware that their organizations are petty rackets, there are some who are thoroughly sincere fanatics.

Many leaders and their immediate lieutenants appear to be emotionally unstable. Pelley and his subordinates seem to have this trait.<sup>3</sup> Jung has attracted several persons with criminal records.<sup>4</sup> Hunter has been married three or four times.<sup>5</sup> James True, the most unstable of all, has a sadistic proneness.<sup>6</sup>

Who has the characteristics necessary for a united front leadership? Such a leader would of course, have to be skilled in oratory, writing, and organizing. The age factor immediately eliminates Sanctuary, Edmondson, Hadley, and Hunter; their average is about 70. Of the men in their fifties, True has shown the least ability as an organizer or speaker. Moreover, he has never achieved a large circulation for his *Industrial Control Reports*. Jung also has demonstrated no great ability as an organizer or speaker. He is essentially a salesman of "secret" information. Gulden could not even keep alive his "grub-sized" Order of '76. Consequently, only Kunze, Pelley, and Winrod

are left. Kunze may be eliminated because he appeals to too narrow an audience. As the Bund consists chiefly of German-born members, Kunze cannot hope to attract a large American following. Pelley and Winrod are the outstanding contenders for leadership of any unified anti-semitic movement. Both are fairly good organizers, effective speakers (Winrod is probably a shade better), and prolific writers. Winrod contributes frequently to his publication *Defender* and constantly pens new pamphlets and tracts. Pelley has virtually written all the issues of *Liberation* and yet has found time for an occasional book. From the standpoint of propagandistic style, Pelley is the best writer in the anti-semitic movement. He uses the vernacular effectively; he refers to the Jews as "Heebs," the "Yiddishers," and the "Sons of Jacob." Though his humor is crude, it makes his articles much more entertaining reading than the corsetted writings of many of his co-workers. In the matter of age, Winrod has the advantage; he is 42. Pelley is 53. Winrod's youth may explain his greater energy. He tirelessly travels about the country to speak at Bible conferences and, between his trips, he sandwiches in radio talks and articles. Winrod's chief weakness is the limitation of his potential following. His appeal is greatest among small-town and rural Fundamentalists; to a more sophisticated urban audience his Evangelism has little appeal. Pelley's appeal is less limited. While his spiritualism would alienate many people, he is able to keep it in the background; Winrod cannot escape his Fundamentalism. However, Winrod is more realistic. In 1936 Pelley ran for President on a Christian Party ticket in the state of Washington and obtained a thousand or so votes; Winrod, less ambitious, ran in the 1938 Republican Senatorial primary in Kansas, polling a much greater vote; during his campaign he discreetly refrained from anti-semitic utterances.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, while Pelley has managed to secure some aid from the wealthy, Winrod has been comparatively, much more successful. Winrod's primary campaign, for instance, showed all signs of being generously financed. In short, both men are politically ambitious, but Winrod has his two feet on the ground.

Two outstanding anti-semites—Father Coughlin and Major-General Van Horn Moseley—were purposely not considered as possibilities for the national *fuhrerschaft* of a united anti-semitic movement, though both men possess many of the essentials for such a position. Coughlin is shrewd, unscrupulous, and ambitious—by all odds the most brilliant orator and the ablest leader in the anti-semitic movement. Without real ability he could never have raised himself from a humble parish priest to a nationally-known personality. He could easily have be-



## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

come the national leader of the anti-semitic movement but for one fact: the United States is a predominantly Protestant country. The anti-semitic movement was almost entirely Protestant until Coughlin brought his Catholic following into it. To suggest that Protestant organizations are likely to subordinate themselves to the leadership of a Catholic priest is to speak without knowledge of American psychology. The irony becomes manifest. Coughlin's propaganda generates suspicion against the Jews, a religious minority. The average Protestant is suspicious of the Catholics, another religious minority. As a result, the Protestant majority's suspicion of the Catholic minority bars Coughlin from leadership of a movement directed against the Jewish minority. If couched in the vernacular, the sentiment of the emphatic Protestant anti-semites would be, "We don't want a damn Catholic leading our movement against the damn Jews."

Major-General Moseley, the other possible candidate for national leadership, was retired from the United States Army in 1938. In November of that year he made his first public address against the New Deal, revolutionaries, and Jews. His attacks continued in the subsequent months. Leaders of important anti-semitic organizations promptly sensed his possibilities as the head of a united movement. Usually the best that could be hoped for from a prominent person was under-cover sympathy. Here was Moseley, a major-general, willing to come out openly for the cause. The idea of a leader with military experience appealed particularly to those who advocated "strong arm methods" and the "Franco way." Admittedly, Moseley had—and has—many of the requirements for an ideal anti-semitic leader. But a man old enough to be retired from the Army is too old for the task of bringing 121 separate organizations into a united front. The task requires more energy and more years of active life than Moseley has ahead of him. The ideal leader must be a young Protestant with Coughlin's shrewdness and oratorical skill and with a military title. No such leader has yet appeared on the horizon.

### MEMBERSHIP

What types of persons belong to anti-semitic organizations? This question will be first examined from the standpoint of national extraction. Down to Father Coughlin's entry into the anti-semitic movement in late 1938, the members of most anti-semitic groups were, by and large, people of early American stock. Available membership lists studied in the preceding chapters indicate that the names were nearly all of Anglo-Saxon origin; names of Latin or Slavic origin were rare.

## CONCLUSIONS

Persons of recent immigrant stock—first and second generation Americans—were almost never found in these organizations. The Bund, of course, was the one exception, its members almost invariably having been born in Germany. Significantly, an organization consisting of foreign-born and a group of organizations consisting of old American stock both disseminated the same propaganda, and in many instances actively cooperated. Since Coughlin entered the anti-semitic movement, bringing with him a large Irish following of recent immigrants, the situation has, of course, changed.

Classifying the social status of the members of anti-semitic groups is difficult. Most organizations are neither exclusive clubs catering to the wealthy nor proletarian groups appealing to the lowest income citizenry. Several factors, however, substantiate the description "middle-class." All the organizations are bitterly anti-union. The leaders of two organizations—Harry Jung of the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation and Edward Hunter of the Industrial Defense Association—are former labor spies and still carry on small-scale espionage. Had anti-semitic organizations desired working class members they would have concealed their anti-labor bias. The organizations have, however, attracted numerous professional men. The Silver Shirts, the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, and the Industrial Defense Association contain physicians, lawyers, clergymen, and engineers. The field representative of the Federation has addressed Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs—two middle class groups—and has tried to recruit members there. The correspondence of the Silver Shirts frequently refers to 32d degree Masons and Scottish Rite Shriners, again middle-class persons. Two observers familiar with the Industrial Defense Association have referred to the fact that its members have included "people of standing." These references to middle-class people become more significant in view of the rarity of such references to manual or factory workers. Then too, Jung, True, and Hunter have represented their literature as indispensable to every businessman in the intelligent conduct of his affairs.

It should, of course, be remembered that such organizations as Paul Reveres, the Industrial Defense Association, and James True Associates have a higher proportion of wealthy members than do the Defenders of the Christian Faith, the Christian Front, Silver Shirts, etc.

Questions on the membership's religion, geographical distribution, education, and affiliations with patriotic and military organizations cannot be conclusively answered, for no complete information on any of these matters is available.

Until late 1938 the anti-semitic movement was unquestionably

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

Protestant. The validity of the characterization is attested by the following facts: most members of the Defenders of the Christian Faith have been Fundamentalists and its leader, Winrod, has been outspokenly anti-Catholic; the Silver Shirts have numbered many former Klansmen among their members; no leader of an anti-semitic group was Catholic; and almost all members were of old American stock. In the autumn of 1938, however, Father Coughlin and his vast Catholic following entered the ranks of the anti-semitic movement. Since the exact or even approximate number of these Catholic recruits as well as of the old Protestant participants is unknown, the religious group that has a proportionately greater number of adherents in the anti-semitic movement cannot be determined.

Although all regions of the United States contain anti-semitic groups two have the greatest concentration—the Pacific Coast and metropolitan New York.<sup>8</sup> The Pacific Coast is the home of numerous active locals of the German-American Bund and the stronghold of the Silver Shirts. California, a coastal state, contains one of the three largest groups of subscribers to Winrod's *Defender*. Furthermore, the percent of the 121 anti-semitic groups that have headquarters on the Pacific Coast exceeds by far the percent of the national population in that region—16.8 percent to 6.7 percent. The sections of the Pacific Coast that have the largest number of such groups are Southern California and the state of Washington. Metropolitan New York houses headquarters of 26 groups. The Bund has 17 of its 71 locals in that area; they include the largest and the most active, and hold the best attended meetings. The region is also the citadel of Father Coughlin's Christian Front.

Of the nine anti-semitic groups specially treated in the preceding chapters the German-American Bund, the Christian Front, the Silver Shirts, the Defenders of the Christian Faith, and the Edmondson Economic Service—the five most important—and the James True Associates have a nationwide sphere of operations. The three others have much smaller spheres: the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation confines itself to the region within a few hundred miles of Chicago; the American Christian Defenders to metropolitan New York; and the Industrial Defense Association to Boston and New England. Two defunct groups, The Paul Reveres and the Order of '76, had spheres identical with those of the Federation and the American Christian Defenders respectively. The Bund, the Christian Front, the Silver Shirts, the Federation, and the Industrial Defense Association—all for the most part draw upon urban centers for their mem-

## CONCLUSIONS

bership. The only large group that has an almost completely small-town and rural membership is the Defenders of the Christian Faith. The Silver Shirt group has also made efforts to recruit members in the rural sections of the state of Washington, and the Federation in the small towns of Michigan and Northwestern Ohio.

The middle-class character of the anti-semitic movement suggests that its followers have enjoyed at least average educational opportunities. Nevertheless the educational level of both the Silver Shirts and the Defenders of the Christian Faith appears to be lower than that of other anti-semitic groups: the Defenders are almost all staunch believers in Biblical and Great Pyramidal prophecies; many Silver Shirts are spiritualists as well as believers in the Great Pyramidal prophecy.

The anti-revolutionary nature of both anti-semitic organizations and military (or patriotic organizations) leads to the belief that the membership of both are somewhat the same. Supporting this belief is certain evidence: Army officers have belonged to the Industrial Defense Association, the Order of '76, and the Paul Reveres; many members of the Daughters of the American Revolution to the Industrial Defense Association; and some sailors and marines to the San Diego local of the Silver Shirts.

In summary, the memberships of the anti-semitic organizations are, by and large, urban middle-class people who have had at least an average education. Some of these members are also affiliated with military (or patriotic) groups. While no one region of the country possesses a majority of the anti-semitic organizations, the Pacific Coast and metropolitan New York have the largest number.

### FUNDS

The three major sources of funds are sale of literature, dues payments, and contributions. Sale of literature, the most common source, is tapped by all organizations specially treated in the foregoing chapters. Dues payments, though a somewhat less important source, yield revenue for the Bund, the Silver Shirts, the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, the Order of '76, and The Paul Reveres. As the third major source—the solicited contribution—requires extended examination, the minor sources will be briefly enumerated. Advertisements in their publications bring income to the Bund and the Defenders of the Christian Faith; lecture fees to the American Christian Defenders, Industrial Defense Association, Edmondson Economic Service, and the Defenders of the Christian Faith; and social

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

events and a subsidy from Germany to the Bund. Collections taken at meetings have helped support the Bund, the Defenders of the Christian Faith, and The Paul Reveres. The Federation has charged admission fees to its meetings. Some leaders—Hadley, Edmondson, and True—have used their own money in launching their organizations.

For the sake of expedient discussion, contributions will be arbitrarily divided into two categories: "small," up to fifty dollars; "large," fifty dollars or more. Five groups have solicited small contributions—the Silver Shirts, the Industrial Defense Association, the Defenders of the Christian Faith, the Christian Front, and Edmondson Economic Service. Evidence has indicated that eight groups have received large contributions, obviously given by the well-to-do or wealthy. These groups are the Bund, the Defenders of the Christian Faith, the Christian Front, the Edmondson Economic Service, the American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, the Industrial Defense Association, the Silver Shirts, and the American Christian Defenders. Of the three that are not known to have received such financial backing, two have passed out of existence: the Order of '76 and The Paul Reveres. The third, The James True Associates, has led a precarious existence; for nearly a year after the 1936 election, it published nothing. The Silver Shirts apparently carried on for five years without known support from the wealthy; in those years they probably did not receive such support for they were frequently in debt and several times nearly went out of business. That an anti-semitic group must have support from the wealthy if it is to have a secure existence is obvious. A would-be founder of a new anti-semitic group cannot expect his group to be a financial success on the pennies, nickels, and dimes tossed in the collection basket; he needs one or more financial "angels" able and willing to contribute from 25 to 50 percent of the annual organizational budget.

The fact that a large percentage of the income of some groups does come from the wealthy should occasion no surprise. Since anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic groups assert that they are fighting those who would expropriate the wealthy, they have a potent argument in their solicitations. Nevertheless the sums contributed by the wealthy are frequently exaggerated. Wealthy persons are usually unwilling to espouse any group that is openly anti-semitic.

### FUTURE OF THE ANTI-SEMITIC MOVEMENT

Do the American anti-semitic organizations constitute a national radical revolutionary movement? What does the future in the United

## CONCLUSIONS

States probably hold for these groups? In order to answer the first question, a definition offered in the first chapter should be repeated: a national radical revolutionary movement stands for the achievement of fundamental changes in the social practice by drastic methods. Certainly the American organizations as a whole do not conform with this definition. In the chapter on propaganda, the study inquired whether the organizations had Fascism as their goal and whether they believed in violence as a means for attaining their goal, be it Fascism or not. These two questions embodied the two criteria of a national radical revolutionary movement—a fundamental change and drastic methods. The Silver Shirts have constituted the only organization fully meeting these criteria. Pelley, chief of the Silver Shirts, has scorned "Jew-communist democracy" and advocated "strong-arm expedients" and dictatorship. For a brief time his San Diego unit practiced military maneuvers in anticipation of violence. Other groups have met the criteria in part. The Bund has urged its members to be ready to fight for the "right kind of government." Father Coughlin has sanctioned the "Franco way." The Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested 17 Christian Front followers for plotting insurrection against the United States Government. Though he has expressed his views somewhat less baldly, Edmondson has referred approvingly to "the Vigilante Spirit which will save America" and stated that "Civil War and Fascistic Dictatorship may be inevitable." James True has told several interviewers that a pogrom is the only solution to America's difficulties. Since the 1936 election the number of references to violence has been rapidly increasing. Nevertheless the propaganda of most anti-semitic organizations has not called for either the use of violence or for a change in the present form of government. It has confined itself to raising the bogey of a "Jewish-communist conspiracy" and to demanding that this conspiracy be suppressed. Consequently, at present, the anti-semitic movement as a whole cannot be called a national radical revolutionary movement.

Will the anti-semitic organizations grow stronger in the future? Will they become a national radical revolutionary movement? Although the future of any movement cannot be predicted with certainty, the conditions under which a given movement is very likely to develop may be listed. A good method of determining the conditions under which anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideology flourishes would be possible through a careful examination of the specific economic and political circumstances of all the countries in which this ideology has appeared. Unfortunately, the standard histories of anti-semitism do not furnish

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

this information. The following list of conditions, is, of necessity, based upon a general knowledge of the conditions fostering this ideology:

Periods of economic depression.

War, threats of war, or any other event that results in an intensification of nationalism.

Growth of a strong revolutionary movement or widespread publicity of what is alleged to be a revolutionary movement.

Rise of an anti-semitic political party to power in a foreign country.

Prosperity and international prestige of those countries that have adopted anti-semitism as part of national policy.

Large Jewish immigration.

Appointment or election of Jews to prominent political offices.

The first condition, periods of economic depression, requires little explanation. When people are suffering from economic deprivation, the grip of the old ideology weakens. Beliefs formerly accepted without question begin to be doubted. Anti-semitic ideology is well adapted to such periods because it can attribute the ills of society to the scheming "Communist Jew."

Any intensification of nationalism—whether from war, threat of war, or other causes—results in the demand that everyone conform to the standard national pattern and in the suspicion of all minority groups. Jews—the perpetual alien minority—as well as adherents of any liberal or revolutionary ideology do not find an aroused nationalism a congenial atmosphere. Complete solidarity in the name of the nation will be demanded, differences will not be tolerated, and drastic methods will be used to crush any dissenting group. Such conditions would not, of course, exist in the event of a war with Germany, a country officially sponsoring the anti-semitic ideology. At the end of the war, however, the Jews and revolutionaries would make excellent whipping boys for the returning veterans. National humiliation, resulting from defeat in war or even in diplomacy, would also intensify nationalism and start a hunt for scapegoats.

The growth of a strong revolutionary movement would stimulate the growth of anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic organizations. This was true in Russia, in Poland, in Hungary, and in Germany. A genuine revolutionary movement, however, may not be necessary. Widespread publicity focused on what is alleged to be a revolutionary movement may achieve the same result. During the 1936 Presidential campaign, the mildly reformist New Deal was vigorously and widely attacked as revolutionary, and, as a result, many new anti-semitic organizations were born.

## CONCLUSIONS

The Nazis' rise to power in Germany had the immediate effect of starting anti-semitic groups in the United States. The more widely it is accepted throughout the world, the more readily Fascist ideology circulates in the United States. Moreover, the growth in prosperity and in international prestige of the Fascist countries will enhance the attractiveness of their ideology and will increase its acceptability in the United States. Germany military successes in Europe have already enabled American disseminators of this ideology to say, "See what a Jew-purged country can do."

The other two conditions—Jewish immigration to the United States and the appointment or the election of Jews to prominent political offices—are less important factors, but nonetheless significant. Anti-semitic propaganda asserts that "Communistic Jews" are dominating the country, that they occupy key positions; accordingly, it gives a vast amount of publicity to the fact that some Jews hold offices in the "Communist" New Deal administration. The greater the number of Jews in political positions, the more convincing will the anti-semitic propaganda appear—the more probably will Jews be used as scapegoats for what ever difficulties the country encounters. Should the number of Jewish refugees entering the United States increase, the propaganda will herald this immigration as the beginning of a new "Communist-Jewish" assault on the United States. To be sure, Pelley is already making such charges.

These, then, are the seven conditions fundamental to the growth of the anti-semitic movement. The intensity or lack of intensity of these conditions will determine whether the anti-semitic organizations in the United States will grow stronger or weaker.

One further fact must be noted in any effort to conjecture the future of the American anti-semitic movement. About a dozen new anti-semitic organizations have been formed each year since 1933. This steady growth suggests that anti-semitism has taken root in the United States and will, even under the most unfavorable conditions, remain as a minor ideology for some time. The anti-semitic movement in the United States can no longer be treated as if it were a transient phenomenon.

In summary, the 121 anti-semitic organizations that have appeared in the United States in recent years are products of the depression, the repercussion of Hitler's rise to power, the slight growth of revolutionary sentiment, and the belief that the New Deal is "Communistic." These organizations are far less formidable than they seem to be; many of them consist merely of a fanatic and a letterhead. Their members

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

are drawn primarily from the middle-class. Though some individual wealthy persons have contributed to these organizations, the economic elite as a group has ignored their existence. The sources of funds most commonly used are dues and the sale of publications. The skill in propaganda is only moderate. The organizations as a whole do not fall within the definition of a national radical revolutionary movement, although individual organizations do.

---

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

### BOOKS

- American Jewish Yearbook*. Philadelphia: the Jewish Publication Society of America
- Brown Network, The*. New York: Knight, 1935
- Catlin, G. E. C. *The Science and Method of Politics*. New York: Knopf, 1927
- Coudenhove-Kalergi, Henrich. *Anti-Semitism Throughout the Ages*. London: Hutchinson, 1935
- Drennan, James. *B. U. F., Oswald Mosley and British Fascism*. London: John Murray, 1934
- Dutt, R. Palme. *Fascism and Social Revolution*. New York: International, 1934
- Editors of *Fortune*. *Jews in America*. New York: Random House, 1936
- Finer, Herman. *Mussolini's Italy*. London: Gollancz, 1935
- Gessner, Robert. *Some of My Best Friends are Jews*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1936
- Gunther, John. *Inside Europe*. New York: Harpers, 1937
- Hapgood, Norman. (ed.) *Professional Patriots*. New York: Boni, 1927
- Heiden, Konrad. *A History of National Socialism*. New York: Knopf, 1935
- Hoover, Calvin B. *Germany Enters the Third Reich*. New York: Macmillan, 1933
- Jaszi, Oscar. "The Ideologic Foundations of the Danubian Dictatorships" in *Propaganda and Dictatorships*. Edited by Harwood L. Childs. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1936
- Kernan, Reverend William C. *The Ghost of Royal Oak*. New York: Free Speech Forum, 1940
- Lasswell, Harold D. *World Politics and Personal Insecurity*. New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill, 1934
- . *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*. New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill, 1936
- Levinger, Rabbi Lee J. *Anti-Semitism, Yesterday and Tomorrow*. New York: Macmillan, 1936
- . *A History of the Jews in the United States*. Cincinnati: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1935
- Loucks, E. H. *The Ku Klux Klan in Pennsylvania, a Study of Nativism*. New York: Telegraph Press, 1936
- Mecklin, J. M. *The Ku Klux Klan, a Study of the American Mind*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1924
- Merriam, Charles E. *Political Power*. New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill, 1934
- Mosca, Gaetano. *The Ruling Class*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938
- Mosley, Sir Oswald. *Fascism in Britain*. London: British Union of Fascists, 1938
- Mowrer, Edgar Ansel. *Germany Puts the Clock Back*. New York: Morrow, 1933
- Salvemini, Gaetano. *The Fascist Dictatorship*. New York: Holt, 1927
- Schuman, Frederick L. *Germany Since 1918*. New York: Holt, 1937
- . *The Nazi Dictatorship*. New York: Knopf, 1935
- Seldes, George. *Sawdust Caesar*. New York: Harpers, 1935
- Spivak, John L. *Shrine of the Silver Dollar*. New York: Modern Age, 1940
- Swing, Raymond Gram. *Forerunners of American Fascism*. New York: Julian Messner, 1935

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

Valentin, Hugo. *Anti-Semitism, Historically and Critically Examined*. New York: Viking, 1936

Werth, Alexander. *Which Way France?* New York: Harpers, 1937

Wirth, Louis. *The Ghetto*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928

### PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

U. S. Congress, House. *Investigation of Nazi and Other Propaganda*. House Report 153, 74th Congress, 1st Session. Washington: Government Printing office, 1935. See also the *Hearings* of the committee upon which this report is based. (McCormack Committee)

U. S. Congress, House. *Investigation of Un-American Activities*. 1938—Ten volumes. (Dies Committee)

### ARTICLES

Dinneen, Joseph F. "An American Fuehrer Organizes an Army," *American Magazine*, August, 1937

"The Friends of New Germany". *Today*, March 31, 1934

"Jews in America". *Fortune*, February, 1936

Pelley, William Dudley. "My Seven Minutes in Eternity", *American Magazine*, March, 1929

Smertenko, John. "Hitlerism Comes to America", *Harpers*, November, 1933  
*Periodicals Published by Anti-Semitic Groups Defender*. Wichita, Kansas. Monthly

*Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*. New York. Weekly

Edmondson Economic Service. *Bulletin*. New York. Weekly

*Industrial Control Reports*. Washington, D. C. Weekly

*Items of Interest*. Chicago. Monthly

*The Revealer*. Wichita, Kansas. Bi-monthly

*Social Justice*. Royal Oak, Michigan. Weekly

*The Vigilante*. Chicago. Monthly

### PAMPHLETS PUBLISHED BY ANTI-SEMITIC GROUPS

Edmondson, Robert E. *Anti-Semitic Causes of Today*. New York: Edmondson Economic Service, 1937

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Jewish System Indicted*. New York: Edmondson Economic Service, 1937

\_\_\_\_\_. *Women of America! Rescue the Republic*. New York: Edmondson Economic Service, 1935

Hunter, Edward L. *Does the CIO Seek to Promote Red Revolution?* Boston: Industrial Defense Association, 1937

\_\_\_\_\_. *Jewish Jazz: Tin Pan Alley*. Boston: Industrial Defense Association

\_\_\_\_\_. *Legislation for Hatred*. Boston: Industrial Defense Association, 1935

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Grave Diggers of Russia*. Boston: Industrial Defense Association, 1933

Jung, Harry A. *Questions and Answers*. Chicago: American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, 1934. (Mimeographed)

\_\_\_\_\_, and Sanctuary E. N. *The Man Behind the Men Behind the President*. Chicago: American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, 1936

Nilus, Serge. *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Chicago: Right Cause Publishing Co., 1934

Potter, Irvin L. *Are Jews God's Chosen?* Boston: 1935

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Cause of Anti-Jewism in the United States*. Boston: 1933

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Evidence of Jewish Financial Control*. Boston: 1935

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Psychological Cause of Anti-Jewism*. Boston: 1935

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Secret of the Jew's Financial Success*. Boston: 1935

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Potter, Irvin L. *Truths Gentiles Should Know*. Boston: 1935

Sanctuary, Eugene N. *Blind Leaders*. New York: World Alliance Against Jewish Aggressiveness, 1935

\_\_\_\_\_. *Communism, Its Heart and Goal*. New York: Sunday School Times, 1936

\_\_\_\_\_. *Is the New Deal Communism?* New York: World Alliance Against Jewish Aggressiveness

\_\_\_\_\_. *Litvinoff, Foreign Commissar of the USSR*. Philadelphia: Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter

\_\_\_\_\_. *Roosevelt Worming the Serpent*. New York: World Alliance Against Jewish Aggressiveness, 1934

\_\_\_\_\_. *Tainted Contacts*. New York: World Alliance Against Jewish Aggressiveness

Schrader, Fredrick F. *The New Germany Under Hitler*. Philadelphia: Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter

Sincere, Earnest. *Facing the Facts*. Elgin, Illinois: Brandt, 1933

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Plon in Action*. Elgin, Illinois: Brandt, 1933

Squire of Krum Elbow, Tbe. *Our Neighbor and World Unrest*. Newport, Rhode Island: Newport Historical Association

\_\_\_\_\_. *Toward Armageddon*. Charleston, South Carolina: Militant Christian Association, 1936

Winrod, Gerald B. *Anti-Christ and the Tribe of Dan*. Wichita: Defender Publishers, 1936

\_\_\_\_\_. *Communism and the Roosevelt Brain Trust*. Wichita: Defender Publishers, 1936

\_\_\_\_\_. *Subversive Movements*. Wichita: Defender Publishers, 1937

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Curse of Modern Deism*. Wichita: Defender Publishers, 1936

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Hidden Hand; the Protocols and the Coming Supermon*. Wichita: Defender Publishers, 1935

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Jewish Assault on Christianity*. Wichita: Defender Publishers, 1935

\_\_\_\_\_. *The NRA in Prophecy and a Discussion of Beast Worship*. Wichita: Defender Publishers, 1933

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Truth about the Protocols*. Wichita: Defender Publishers, 1935

\_\_\_\_\_. *The United States and Russia in Prophecy and the Red Horse of the Apocalypse*. Wichita: Defender Publishers, 1933

\_\_\_\_\_. *Three Modern Evils—Modernism, Aetheism, and Bolshevism*. Wichita: Defender Publishers, 1932

\_\_\_\_\_. *World Trends Toward Anti-Christ*. Wichita: Defender Publishers, 1934

### MOST WIDELY READ BOOKS OF THE ANTI-SEMITIC GROUPS

Gaebelein, Dr. Arno C. *The Conflict of the Ages*. New York: Our Hope, 1933

Hitler, Adolf. *My Battle*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1933

Pelley, William Dudley. *No More Hunger*. Asheville, North Carolina: Pelley Publishers, 1936

Sanctuary, Eugene N. *Are These Things So?* New York: World Alliance Against Jewish Aggressiveness, 1934

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

### Notes for Chapter I

<sup>1</sup> For more elaborate statements of this type of political analysis see H. D. Lasswell, *World Politics and Personal Insecurity*, (New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill, 1935); Charles E. Merriam, *Political Power*, (New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill, 1934); G. E. C. Catlin, *The Science and Method of Politics*, (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1927); Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938); H. D. Lasswell, *Politics—Who Gets What, When, How*, (New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill, 1936).

<sup>2</sup> Violence and the distribution of goods and services are, of course, other methods by which an élite retains power.

<sup>3</sup> Obviously an ideology can be anti-revolutionary without being anti-semitic. Such prominent American groups as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Legion are very active in distributing anti-revolutionary propaganda that is not anti-semitic.

<sup>4</sup> Of course, in this anti-revolutionary, anti-semitic ideology the Jew is often presented in other roles than as a revolutionary, but our purpose at present is simply to explain the association between anti-semitism and the anti-revolutionary ideology.

<sup>5</sup> For the history of anti-semitism see Hugo Valentin, *Anti-Semitism, Historically and Critically Examined* (New York: Viking, 1936); Henrich Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Anti-Semitism throughout the Ages* (London: Hutchinson, 1935). For a briefer treatment see Rahhi Lee J. Levinger, *Anti-Semitism, Yesterday and Tomorrow* (New York: Macmillan, 1936), Part I.

<sup>6</sup> Valentin, *Anti-Semitism*, p. 87.

<sup>7</sup> See footnote one, chapter XIV, for a discussion of this work.

<sup>8</sup> Valentin, *Anti-Semitism*, p. 100.

<sup>9</sup> For a good brief account of developments in Hungary at this period see Oscar Jaszi, "Ideologic Foundations of the Danubian Dictatorships," in *Propaganda and Dictatorships*, ed. by Harwood L. Childs, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1936), pp. 90-97.

<sup>10</sup> For studies of the rise of National Socialism, in contrast to descriptions of the Nazi regime as it exists at present, see: Konrad Heiden, *A History of National Socialism*, (New York: Knopf, 1935); Fredrick L. Schuman, *The Nazi Dictatorship*, (New York: Knopf, 1935); Edgar Ansel Mowrer, *Germany Puts the Clock Back*, (New York: Morrow, 1933); Calvin B. Hoover, *Germany Enters the Third Reich*, (New York: Macmillan, 1933); R. Palme Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution*, (New York: International, 1934); Fredrick L. Schuman, *Germany Since 1918*, (New York: Holt, 1937).

<sup>11</sup> For a further discussion of this matter see Valentin, *Anti-Semitism*, pp. 60-63.

<sup>12</sup> Schuman, *The Nazi Dictatorship*, p. 97.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>14</sup> The fact that in 1938 Italy took certain anti-semitic measures—the expulsion of all Jews who have entered the country since 1919 and limiting the number of Jewish teachers and students in schools—does not affect the validity of this analysis. The rise of the Nazis in Germany has given a tremendous impetus to anti-semitism everywhere; it has made the world Jew-conscious. In the early days of Italian Fascism the Jews actually were not an eligible target. The increased Jew-consciousness of the world has magnified the importance of the same number of Italian Jews to the point where they are now an eligible target. Thus, Mussolini takes measures against the Jews to allow the discontent under his regime to be discharged in a channel harmless to his regime, i.e., against the Jews. Further, anti-semitic measures were an easy way for Mussolini to demonstrate his solidarity with Germany and the reality of the Rome-Berlin axis.

<sup>15</sup> For detailed descriptions of the rise of Fascism in Italy see: Gaetano Salvemini, *The Fascist Dictatorship*, (New York: Holt, 1927); H. W. Schneider, *Making the Fascist State*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1928); Herman Finer,

## CHAPTER FOOTNOTES

*Mussolini's Italy*, (London: Gollancz, 1935); R. Palme Dutt, *Fascism and Social Revolution*, (New York: International, 1934); George Seldes, *Sawdust Caesar*, (New York: Harpers, 1935).

<sup>16</sup> For a survey of the British Union of Fascists see John Gunther, *Inside Europe*, (31st ed.; New York: Harpers, 1937), pp. 263-266. For an exposition by a member of the B. U. F. see James Drennan, *B. U. F., Oswald Mosley and British Fascism*, (London: John Murray, 1934). Mosley explains his ideas in his own volume, *Fascism in Britain*, (London: British Union of Fascists, 1933).

<sup>17</sup> For discussions of these groups see John Gunther, *Inside Europe*, (New York: Harpers, 1937), Chapter 11. Also Alexander Werth, *Which Way France?* (New York: Harpers, 1937).

### Notes for Chapter II

<sup>1</sup> See end of this chapter for data concerning revolutionary parties in the United States.

<sup>2</sup> For a more extended discussion, see Levinger, Lee J., *Anti-Semitism, Yesterday and Tomorrow*, New York, Macmillan Co., 1936, pp. 127-133.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the Ku Klux Klan, see Mecklin, J. M., *The Ku Klux Klan, a Study of the American Mind*, New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1924; Loucks, E. H., *The Ku Klux Klan in Pennsylvania, a Study in Nativism*, New York, Telegraph Press, 1936.

<sup>4</sup> *American Jewish Yearbook*, Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, Vol. XLII.

<sup>5</sup> Levinger, Lee J., *A History of the Jews in the United States* (Second revised edition), Cincinnati, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1935, p. 375.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 377.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *American Jewish Yearbook*, XXXIX:744.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Levinger, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 264. The percent of Jews in the total American population in subsequent years is given in the *American Jewish Yearbook*, XXXIX:747, as follows: 1897—1.31%; 1907—2.00%; 1917—3.27%; 1927—3.58%.

<sup>12</sup> *American Jewish Yearbook*, XXXIX:761.

<sup>13</sup> Levinger, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 262, 265. *American Jewish Yearbook*, XXXIX:766-767, gives the detailed figures on Jewish immigration since 1899 as follows: 1899-1907, 829,244; 1908-1914, 656,397; 1915-1920, 79,921; 1921, 119,036; 1922-1924, 153,232; 1925-1930, 67,686; 1931-1936, 26,042.

<sup>15</sup> According to the *American Jewish Yearbook*, XXIX:767, the figures on Jewish immigration for these years are: 1931—5,692; 1932—2,755; 1933—2,372; 1934—4,134; 1935—4,837; 1936—6,252.

<sup>16</sup> Levinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 520-522, 550.

<sup>17</sup> Postal, Bernard, *B'nai B'rith Magazine*, "Jews in National Political Convention", XLVI (1933): 268,305.

<sup>18</sup> *American Jewish Yearbook*, XXIX:737.

<sup>19</sup> The best detailed refutation to the argument that the Jews control the economic life of the nation is found in *Jews in America* (by the Editors of *Fortune*) New York, Random House, 1936. The volume originally appeared in article form in *Fortune*, Feb. 1936. The facts on pages 17-19 are based upon this source.

<sup>20</sup> See Chapter I.

### Notes for Chapter III

<sup>1</sup> Both committees were officially designated as the "Special Committee on un-American Activities". Rep. John W. McCormack was chairman of the first, Rep. Martin Dies, of the second. In this study the printed records of the hearings before

the committees will be termed "McCormack Hearings" and "Dies Hearings". The final report of the McCormack Committee was published Feb. 15, 1935, under the heading *Investigation of Nazi and Other Propaganda*, House Report 153, 74th Congress, first session.

<sup>2</sup> *Kampfendes Deutschtum* (1937 edition), yearbook of the German-American Bund.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*; see also *McCormack Hearings*, DC-4, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> *McCormack Hearings*, DC-4, p. 73.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*; see also p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> XY information. "XY" is a designation for an organization, part of whose work is the collection of information on anti-democratic activities. Since the effectiveness of this work is enhanced by its being carried on with a minimum of publicity, the name of the organization and further footnote references to it will not be given.

<sup>7</sup> *McCormack Hearings*, DC-4, p. 74.

<sup>8</sup> *McCormack Hearings*, NY-12, p. 44.

<sup>9</sup> A word should be said about the Friends of the Hitler Movement, an organization mentioned in articles appearing in *Today* of Mar. 31, 1934 and the *Jewish Daily Bulletin* of Mar. 22, 1933. Apparently these two periodicals learned of the organization through the first issue of the New York Nazi paper, the *Deutscher Beobachter*, in Jan. 1933, wherein it was stated that the Friends of the Hitler Movement would be formed for American citizens who wanted to affiliate with some pro-Nazi group. No subsequent record of the Movement can be found and evidently it was never organized. Its purposes, however, were carried out by the Friends of Germany and the Friends of the New Germany.

<sup>10</sup> *McCormack Hearings*, DC, p. 152.

<sup>11</sup> According to a witness before a Congressional Committee—Mr. Kruppa, who had formerly been very active in the Friends of New Germany and close to Spanknoebel—Spanknoebel was kidnapped from the United States by German secret service men. They forced him at pistol-point to board the *Europa* and kept him secreted until the boat reached Germany. See *McCormack Hearings*, NY-12, pp. 13-15.

<sup>12</sup> *McCormack Hearings*, DC-4, pp. 178, 216-218; see also DC-6, p. 346.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, DC-4, pp. 91, 150; DC-6, pp. 296-297.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, DC-4, pp. 218-219.

<sup>15</sup> *Nazis Among Themselves*, p. 29. A pamphlet published by the Action Committee of the German Progressive Societies of Chicago, an anti-Nazi group.

<sup>16</sup> *Kampfendes Deutschtum* (1937 ed.)

<sup>17</sup> *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, Dec. 30, 1935.

<sup>18</sup> *Dies Hearings*, VI, p. 3,712; *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, Dec. 30, 1935; cf. Anonymous, *The Brown Network*, New York, Knight, 1935, p. 258.

<sup>19</sup> *Dies Hearings* VI, p. 3,786.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 5,200.

<sup>21</sup> *Chicago Daily Times*, Sept. 9, 1937; see also *New York Times*, June 24, 1938.

<sup>22</sup> *New York Times*, June 24, 1938; confirmed by the *Chicago Daily Times*, Sept. 1937.

<sup>23</sup> *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, Dec. 30, 1935.

<sup>24</sup> *Today*, Mar. 31, 1934.

<sup>25</sup> 1936 Constitution of German-American Bund, Art. VI, Sec. 1.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Art. XIII, Sec. 2.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, Art. XVI, Sec. 6.

<sup>28</sup> *McCormack Hearings*, DC-4, p. 107.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, DC-4, p. 69.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, NY-12, p. 45; see also footnote 11.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, NY-12, p. 27.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, NY-12, p. 33.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, DC-4, p. 152.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, NY-7, pp. 68-69.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, DC-4, p. 119.

<sup>36</sup> *Dies Hearings*, IX, p. 5,512.

<sup>37</sup> *McCormack Hearings*, DC-4, p. 181.

<sup>38</sup> *Chicago Daily Times*, Sept. 19, 1937.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> *Dies Hearings*, IX, p. 5,498.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 5,183.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5,187.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5,184.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5,187.

<sup>45</sup> *McCormack Hearings*, DC-4, p. 226.

<sup>46</sup> *Chicago Daily Times*, Sept. 9, 1937.

<sup>47</sup> *Dies Hearings*, I, p. 21.

<sup>48</sup> *McCormack Hearings*, NY-7, p. 55.

<sup>49</sup> *Kampfendes Deutschtum* (1937 ed.).

<sup>50</sup> *Dies Hearings*, X, p. 6,071.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6,094-6,095.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, p. 3,883.

<sup>53</sup> *Investigation of Nazi and Other Propaganda*, p. 7; see footnote 1.

<sup>54</sup> *McCormack Hearings*, NY-12, p. 7.

<sup>55</sup> *Chicago Daily Times*, Sept. 23, 1937.

<sup>56</sup> *Chicago Daily Times*, Sept. 21, 1937.

<sup>57</sup> *McCormack Hearings*, DC-6, p. 318.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, NY-7, p. 127.

<sup>60</sup> *Dies Hearings*, II, p. 1,083.

<sup>61</sup> *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Apr. 8, 1938.

<sup>62</sup> *Dies Hearings*, IX, p. 5,497.

<sup>63</sup> *Dies Hearings*, VI, p. 3,773.

<sup>64</sup> There is no evidence to prove that the Bund definitely gets money from the *Deutsch Konsum Verband*, or DKV as it is commonly called. The DKV, the counter-boycott group formed against the Jewish boycott of German goods, charges dues of fifty cents a month to all German-American merchants who want to be listed in its directory. Although these two groups cooperate, the DKV is not a part of the Bund or subordinate to it.

#### Notes for Chapter IV

<sup>1</sup> *Who is Pelley?*, a Silver Shirt leaflet.

<sup>2</sup> Pelley, William Dudley, *American Magazine*, "Seven Minutes in Eternity", Mar. 1929. At the time Pelley wrote this article, he was not the head of a political organization and, consequently, could afford to describe himself more frankly than he has been willing to do since.

<sup>3</sup> *Who's Who in America*, 1924-25.

<sup>4</sup> Pelley chose Asheville because he learned clairvoyantly of the coming of a great cataclysm in which only this city would be saved.

<sup>5</sup> *McCormack Hearings*, Washington, D. C., June 7, 1934, p. 247. For the financing of these business ventures, see *Dies Hearings*, VI, pp. 4,186-4,191.

<sup>6</sup> *Investigation of Nazi and Other Propaganda*, House Report 153, p. 11, 74th Cong., 1st sess.

<sup>7</sup> *The Salt Lake City Telegram* of Nov. 3, 1933, reported that the same Mrs. Marie Ogden, describing herself as the reincarnation of the Virgin Mary, had led a sect called the Truth Seekers to a colony established at Dry Valley, Utah. The July 5, 1936, issue of the same paper said that Mrs. Ogden had kept the corpse of a sectarian in her house over a year while trying to revive it.

<sup>8</sup> *McCormack Executive Hearings*, Asheville, May 2, 1934, pp. 64-65.



## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

\* A reference to the Great Pyramid of Gizeh. Pelley and his spiritualist followers, in common with many other sects, believe that if the hieroglyphics that cover the corridors of the pyramid are correctly interpreted they will foretell all events in world history down to Judgment Day.

<sup>10</sup> *McCormack Executive Hearings*, Asheville, May 2, 1934, pp. 65, 68.

<sup>11</sup> *Dies Hearings*, VI, p. 4,217.

<sup>12</sup> See Chapter XI.

<sup>13</sup> *Dies Hearings*, VI, p. 4,209.

<sup>14</sup> *McCormack Hearings*, Washington, D. C., June 7, 1934, pp. 281-283.

<sup>15</sup> *The Punxsutawney Spirit*, Oct. 11, 1933.

<sup>16</sup> *Pelley's Weekly*, Mar. 18, 1936.

<sup>17</sup> *Liberation*, Jan. 28, 1938.

<sup>18</sup> *Pelley's Weekly*, Feb. 12, 1936.

<sup>19</sup> *McCormack Hearings*, Washington, D. C., June 7, 1934, p. 272.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255.

<sup>21</sup> See chapters VI and VII.

<sup>22</sup> See footnote 7.

<sup>23</sup> *Dies Hearings*, VI, p. 4,225.

### Notes for Chapter V

<sup>1</sup> Swing, Raymond Gram, *Forerunners of American Fascism*, New York, Julian Messner, 1935, pp. 37-38.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Spivak, John L., *Shrine of the Silver Dollar*, New York, Modern Age Books, 1940, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15ff., gives a careful examination of the ownership of this enterprise.

<sup>5</sup> For another example of a Coughlin misquotation, see *Father Coughlin: His "Facts" and Arguments*, New York, (General Jewish Council and its Affiliates), 1939, see pp. 8-10.

<sup>6</sup> Spivak, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>7</sup> On this phase of the Front. cf Kernan, Rev. William C., *The Ghost of Royal Oak*, Free Speech Forum, 1940, pp. 128-132.

<sup>8</sup> *Christian Social Action*, "Christian American Jew-Baiting," Sept., 1939.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Smith, Alson J., in the *Christian Century*, "The Christian Terror," Aug. 23, 1939.

<sup>12</sup> A month after the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested the 17 plotters, all but 27 officers had left the Front.

<sup>13</sup> Bromley, Dorothy Dunbar, *Portrait of a Christian Frontier*, (a leaflet), Toledo Committee of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice.

<sup>14</sup> Pope Pius XI stated the church's stand against anti-semitism, on Sept. 25, 1928, and again on Dec. 5, 1938. The Pope's full statements are reproduced in *Father Coughlin: His "Facts" and Arguments*, New York, General Jewish Council (and its affiliates), 1939, pp. 52-53. Late Cardinal Mundelein made this statement at the start of Coughlin's anti-semitic campaign. These facts must be borne in mind because Coughlin invariably tries to distort any criticism of his activities as an attack on the Catholic Church.

<sup>15</sup> *Spivak, op. cit.*, pp. 160-163.

<sup>16</sup> For a more extended discussion, see Spivak, *op. cit.*, Chapter VIII, "The Mystery of the Deficits."

### Notes for Chapter VI

<sup>1</sup> Winrod, Gerald B., *Redeeming the Years the Locust Hath Gathered*, Wichita. (Kans.) Defender Publishers, 1932, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Wichita Independent*, Mar. 4, 1933.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter entitled "Propaganda."

<sup>4</sup> Noted earlier in connection with the Silver Shirt membership.

## CHAPTER FOOTNOTES

### Notes for Chapter VII

<sup>1</sup> Data from Edmondson's bulletin of March 1, 1935.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter VIII.

### Notes for Chapter VIII

<sup>1</sup> Committee on Education and Labor, U. S. Senate, *Violations of Free Speech and Assembly and Interference with Rights of Labor* (La Follette Committee Report), I, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> According to William Tracy, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Brick and Clay Workers of America.

<sup>3</sup> Hapgood, Norman, *Professional Patriots*, New York, Boni and Liveright, 1927, p. 164.

<sup>4</sup> United Brick and Clay Workers of America.

<sup>5</sup> According to William Tracy, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Brick and Clay Workers.

<sup>6</sup> William Tracy thinks it possible that Jung gave several locals their initial impetus.

<sup>7</sup> Hapgood, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *National Republic*, May, 1930, p. 46.

<sup>10</sup> Memorandum of the Chicago Better Business Bureau, June 12, 1931.

<sup>11</sup> *McCormack Executive Hearings*, Chicago, pp. 140-145.

<sup>12</sup> *McCormack Executive Hearings*, Chicago, pp. 144-145.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 140-141.

<sup>14</sup> Fredric C. Walcott, U. S. Senator from Connecticut, 1929-1935.

<sup>15</sup> Probably refers to Chase S. Osborn, the former Republican governor. In the July 1934 *Defender* an article headed "Michigan Governor Explains Roosevelt's Jewish Ancestry" quotes Mr. Osborn as the authority on this matter of genealogy.

<sup>16</sup> *McCormack Executive Hearings*, Chicago, p. 135.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136.

### Notes for Chapter IX

<sup>1</sup> *Hearings of the Massachusetts Legislative Investigating Committee on Un-American Activities* (unpublished), Oct. 25, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Dies Hearings*, III, p. 2,376.

<sup>5</sup> *Hearings of the Massachusetts Legislative Investigation Committee on Un-American Activities* (unpublished), Oct. 25, 1937.

<sup>6</sup> Many of the individuals mentioned in Table 6 are affiliated with groups of the types listed.

<sup>7</sup> See Chapter IV.

### Notes for Chapter X

<sup>1</sup> *Chicago American*, June 29, 1934.

<sup>2</sup> *Who's Who in Chicago*, 1931 ed.

<sup>3</sup> Interview with the author.

<sup>4</sup> Letter dated Feb. 1, 1934.

<sup>5</sup> Major John L. Griffith; interview with the author.

<sup>6</sup> Interview with the author.

<sup>7</sup> *National Defense*, vol. 2, no. 7, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *McCormack Executive Hearings*, Chicago, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> *National Defense*, vol. 7, No. 2, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> According to Major John L. Griffith; interview with the author.

## ORGANIZED ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

<sup>11</sup> According to Mr. Dilling; interview with the author.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> Interview with the author.

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter IX.

### Notes for Chapter XI

<sup>1</sup> One of the publications to which True contributed occasionally was *Printers Ink*.

<sup>2</sup> No evidence shows that this organization exists outside Mr. True's imagination.

<sup>3</sup> For similar interviews with True see Niles, Porter, *New Masses*, "Pogrom in September," Aug. 18, 1936; Hale, Michael, *New Masses*, "Fifteen Leading Jews Marked for Death," Aug. 25, 1936.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter VII.

<sup>5</sup> William Dudley Pelley, chief of the Silver Shirts, believes that True's members are in the upper-income groups, for in the Feb. 7, 1938 issue of *Liberation* he uses the expression, "It starts the James Trues of the country writing for the People-Who-Count."

<sup>6</sup> See Chapter VII.

<sup>7</sup> Spivak, *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

### Notes for Chapter XII

<sup>1</sup> *Dies Hearings*, VI, pp. 3,815-3,519.

<sup>2</sup> *Chicago Times*, Sept. 20, 1937.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 12, 1937.

<sup>4</sup> *Liberation*, May 14, 1938.

<sup>5</sup> *Pelley's Weekly*, June 1, 1936.

<sup>6</sup> *Hearings of the Massachusetts Legislative Investigating Committee on Un-American Activities* (unpublished), Oct. 25, 1937.

<sup>7</sup> *McCormack Hearings*, D. C., p. 105.

<sup>8</sup> Interview with the Reverend L. M. Birkhead, National Director of the Friends of Democracy.

<sup>9</sup> See Chapter VII.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with the Rev. L. M. Birkhead.

<sup>11</sup> *Defender*, Mar. 1937.

<sup>12</sup> June 28, 1937.

<sup>13</sup> *Liberation*, Feb. 14, 1938.

<sup>14</sup> *Industrial Control Report*, Jan. 15, 1938.

<sup>15</sup> See Chapter VII.

### Notes for Chapter XIV

<sup>1</sup> For accurate accounts of the history of this forgery, see Segel, Benjamin Wolf, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, the Greatest Lie in History*, New York, Bloch, 1934; Valentin, Hugo, *Anti-Semitism*, pp. 165-183; Levinger, Lee J., *Anti-Semitism, Yesterday and Tomorrow*, New York, Macmillan Co. 1936, pp. 187-203; Bernstein, H., *The Truth About "The Protocols of Zion"*, Covici Friede, 1935. For the background of anti-semitism in the United States, see Chapter II.

<sup>2</sup> Hadley, Edward Marshall, *T.N.T.*, Chicago, Tower Press, 1929, pp. 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Defender*, April 1934.

<sup>4</sup> Newsletter of Edmondson Economic Service, Oct. 5, 1935.

<sup>5</sup> Hadley, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>6</sup> Sincere, Earnest, *The Plan in Action*, Elgin, Brandt Publishing Co., 1933, p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> *Liberation*, June 14, 1938.

<sup>8</sup> Hadley, Edward Marshall, *The Rape of the Republic*, p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> *Liberation*, June 28, 1938.

<sup>10</sup> *Industrial Control Report*, Feb. 5, 1938.

<sup>11</sup> *Revealer*, Nov. 15, 1934.

<sup>12</sup> *Liberation*, May 15, 1938.

<sup>13</sup> *Social Justice*, Feb. 13, 1939.

## CHAPTER FOOTNOTES

<sup>14</sup> *Liberation*, Nov. 11, 1937.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 21, 1938.

<sup>16</sup> *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, Feb. 18, 1937.

<sup>17</sup> Newsletter of Edmondson Economic Service, Oct. 1, 1937.

<sup>18</sup> *Pelley's Weekly*, Nov. 18, 1936.

<sup>19</sup> *Social Justice*, Aug. 1, 1938.

<sup>20</sup> Newsletter of the Edmondson Economic Service, Jan. 13, 1938.

<sup>21</sup> *Pelley's Weekly*, Nov. 18, 1936.

<sup>22</sup> *New Liberation*, Jan. 1937.

<sup>23</sup> *Liberation*, June 21, 1938.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 21, 1937.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1937.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 30, 1933.

<sup>27</sup> *Pelley's Weekly*, Nov. 18, 1936.

<sup>28</sup> *Liberation*, Mar. 1937.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, May 21, 1938.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, June 14, 1938.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, June 21, 1938.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 21, 1938.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, June 21, 1938.

<sup>35</sup> *Industrial Control Report*, Oct. 9, 1937.

<sup>36</sup> Leaflet, May 10, 1938.

<sup>37</sup> See Chapter V.

<sup>38</sup> Innisfail Park, New York City, Aug. 23, 1939.

<sup>39</sup> Smith, Alson J., *Christian Century*, "The Christian Terror," Aug. 23, 1939.

<sup>40</sup> Quoted in Spivak, John L. *The Shrine of the Silver Dollar*, p. 137.

<sup>41</sup> Smith, *loc. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> *Chicago Daily Times*, Sept. 9, 1937.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* For other occasions on which the Bund has expressed its belief in violence, see *Dies Hearings*, II, pp. 1112, 1205-1206.

<sup>45</sup> For an exposition of this type of propaganda analysis, see Lasswell, H. D., *Politics, Who Gets What, When, How*, New York, Whittlesey House, 1936, pp. 39-41.

<sup>46</sup> *Liberation*, Jan. 28, 1938.

<sup>47</sup> Newsletter of Edmondson Economic Service, Apr. 22, 1936.

<sup>48</sup> *Industrial Control Report*, Nov. 14, 1935.

<sup>49</sup> *Liberation*, May 21, 1938.

<sup>50</sup> *Pelley's Weekly*, Mar. 18, 1936.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Liberation*, Jan. 28, 1938.

<sup>53</sup> *Industrial Control Report*, Feb. 5, 1938.

<sup>54</sup> *Liberation*, Feb. 14, 1938.

<sup>55</sup> For a more detailed statement of these hypotheses and an evaluation of them in terms of the propaganda of the American Communist Party in the years 1930-1935, see Lasswell, H. D., and Blumenstock, Dorothy, *World Revolutionary Propaganda; a Chicago Study*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1939.

### Notes for Chapter XV

<sup>1</sup> All ages are as of 1941.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter VIII.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter IV.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter VIII.

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter IX.

<sup>6</sup> See Chapter XI.

<sup>7</sup> See Chapter VI.

<sup>8</sup> See Chapter XIII.